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WOMEN OF COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY TIMES

MARGARET WINTHROP

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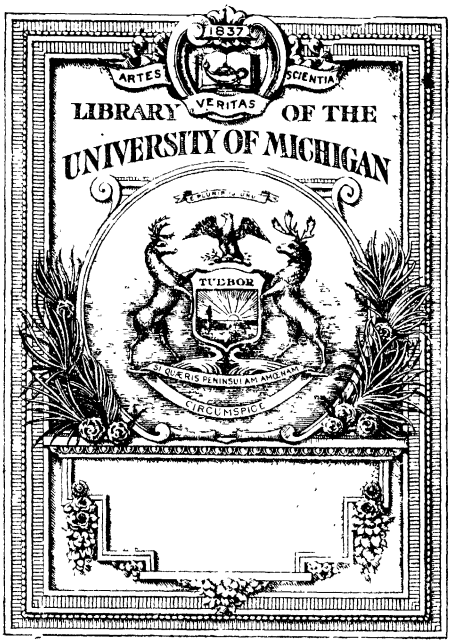

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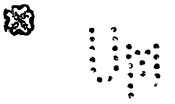
WOMEN OF COLONIAL AND
REVOLUTIONARY TIMES

MARGARET WINTHROP

BY ALICE MORSE EARLE



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To two neighbors of

Margaret Winthrop

my far-away grandmothers

Margaret Morse

of Dedham, Essex County, England, and

Joanna Hoar

of Braintree, Norfolk County Massachusetts

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Most deare husband I did thinke to haue ritten no more to you, hopeinge to see you shortly. and yet I am so much indetted to you for your louinge and longe letters. that I must nedes rite a word or to to show my thankfullnesse and kind exceptance of them. all thought I can doe nothinge to equall them or to requit your loue. and so I thinke I had better doe a hotell then not at all. that I may shew my willingnesse to doe it thought I am asshamed I can doe no better, and now I shall longe for that happy our when I shall see you and in ioy my sweet and deare husband the lord send vs a comfortable meeteinge I am sory the wether is so bad I pray be as carefull as you can of takeinge colde I send vp by John a pece of plate, and a turkey for my brother fones. I pray remember my loue to my brothers and sisters and my sonne John and thus with my dearest and best affections to my beloued husband desireinge the lord to send you a safe and prosperous iourney. I commit you to the protection of almyty god who is onely able to keepe you

Your louinge and obedient wife

Margaret Winthrope

February 24

I pray if you doe not think this peece of plate which I haue sent vp good enuse that you would make choyce of a better your selfe when you come home you shall haue it with a very good will

MARGARET WINTHROP TO HER HUSBAND

NO DATE OF YEAR BUT PROBABLY 1626

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FOREWORD

My knowledge of the events of Margaret Winthrop's life has been gained largely through the printed collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, chiefly in those volumes known as the Winthrop Papers. For cordial permission to use extracts from those papers in this biography, I here express my thanks to the officers of that Society. The Life of John Winthrop, by Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, has also been free for purposes of quotation; to the author's son, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, I give sincere thanks for this courtesy. The Journal of John Winthrop, known as Winthrop's History of New England, is invaluable to every student of early times in that colony; I have used its statements and words to as large an extent as possible. Those vast and interesting volumes known as the Memorial History of Boston have been full of suggestions to me. The work of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain has furnished me

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with historical facts; and hundreds of letters, diaries, and tracts, written during the first half of the seventeenth century, have been carefully read and noted, and have all helped to afford the details of customs and manners during those years. I have not aimed to give any extended history of public or political events, but have simply referred to such succession of public occurrences as had ascendency over the influences, or bearing upon the circumstances, of Margaret Winthrop's life.

In drawing the picture of her life in England, I have heeded little the records of the court and of fashionable town-life, or of the pompous routine of vast estates, but have gathered wholly from the existing records of the life of the families of English country gentlemen, lords of the manor. And as far as possible I have given the words and thoughts of Puritan diary-writers and authors, believing that in methods of living and thought these writers would be closely in touch with the life of John and Margaret Winthrop. I have also limited my authorities largely to those of the counties of Suffolk and Essex, — the homes of Margaret Winthrop; for in that day different counties of England were like different coun-

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tries, and the recounting of the manners and customs of residents of Northumberland, Devon, or Yorkshire could never be a true portrayal of ways of living in Groton Manor in Suffolk. The researches for these facts of manor-life in Essex and Suffolk have been of special interest and facility to me, for they have been among my own forbears and kinsfolk; and I trust my affection and respect for their memory, and possibly the power of heredity, have given to me a clearer insight into the lives and motives of these Puritan gentlemen and gentlewomen.

ALICE MORSE EARLE.

BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, *May*, 1895.

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MARGARET WINTHROP

I

A PURITAN WOOING

DOWN the narrow byways and lanes between the green hop-fields and hedgerows of sunny Essex, along the sedgy fens and lily-pulks on the banks of the river Stour, through the shadowy bridle-paths of the forests of Suffolk, there rode one September day, over two centuries and a half ago, an English gentleman a-courting. He was not a gay and gallant cavalier, but a grave Puritan lawyer and country squire, sober by nature, and now, though but thirty-one years of age, saddened more deeply by the death of his two gentle English wives, and the thought of his four little motherless children.

The third wife, whom he was now seeking, was no longer young, as the age of women was regarded in those days: she was twenty-seven, and she too was acquainted with grief; so this choice of John Winthrop's was one of prudence

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and good sense and compatibility, as well as of affection.

Margaret Tyndal's home, to which John Winthrop rode, was in Great Maplestead in Essex County, — a fine manor-house called Chelmshey House. This mansion had been built by her father, Sir John Tyndal, to please her mother, Lady Anne Tyndal, who wished to live near the splendid home of her son by a former marriage, Sir John Deane. The Deanes and Tyndals were folk of much dignity and influence in the county. Sir John Tyndal was Master in Chancery, and lost his life through an adverse decision given in his Court. Walter Yonge, in a contemporary diary, gives this account of his assassination: —

> "Sir John Tyndal, one of the masters of Chancery, was shot with a dagge by one Mr Bertram, an old gentleman of seventy years of age, for making divers reports against him in Chancery to the overthrow of Bertram, his wife and children."

The decision which provoked this groundless murder involved only a petty sum, — scarce two hundred pounds. The murderer was at once thrown into prison, and in six days hanged himself in his cell. Sir Thomas Bacon, Attorney-General to the Crown, examined the case, and wrote to the King's favorite "Steenie," the

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Duke of Buckingham: "Sir John Tyndal as to his cause is a kind of martyr; for if ever he made a just report in his life, this was it." Margaret's brother, Arthur Tyndal, wrote thus on 22d November, 1616, to his widowed mother, of his father's vindication in character: —

"God hath wrought wonderously already in stopping the mouthes of malicious and naughtie people. For the vilde wretch that had pretended a wronge donne to him by my father and labouring to maintaine it, God not suffering the blood of his saints to lye too longe unrevenged, delivered this caitiffe over to Sathan, in a most marveilous sort dispairinge of Gods mercie. All the grave examiners of that business proclaime my fathers integritie and say if it had been theire case they must have been subject to the pistol too, for they would have done as he did."

The widowed Lady Anne Tyndal looked with much favor on John Winthrop's courtship of her daughter Margaret; for his uprightness of life and his earnest religious convictions made him a suitor welcome to any tender and thoughtful mother, and his beauty of character and his affectionate nature made him equally welcome as a lover to any high-minded and loving woman.

We know well how this sober but eager Puritan lover looked, what manner of man he was;

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for several good portraits of him still exist, — portraits showing him in rich but sad-colored garments, not wearing the plain, straight falling-band beloved of the Puritans, but with the more ornamental, more worldly neck-ruff. The set plaits and flaring width of this broad neck-ruff help to aid in his likenesses his general resemblance to what has been termed the Elizabethan type of features, — a dignified, refined, intellectual expression, common to portraits of the time of Elizabeth, and which, as shown in the countenance of Winthrop, makes him seem almost of genetic likeness to Shakespeare, Raleigh, Bacon, and other well-known faces of the sixteenth century. His flowing locks and sober beard, his thoughtful forehead and clear-cut features, combine to make a picture which, even at first glance, is unmistakably that of a sincere and kindly English gentleman.

Though John Winthrop might be deemed Elizabethan in expression and bearing, we know, from the testimony of his life, his journal, his letters, that he was not Elizabethan in nature and temper. For he was ever orderly, never capricious; he had an intense domestic tenderness, rather than the broad geniality of the Elizabethan age; he was just, rather than sympathetic; his pulse beat with an equable and firm force, never with the bounding delight

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which marked the Elizabethan temperament. He had a Christian courteousness rather than a cavalier courtliness; he was reflective, self-restrained, and dignified, but always kind. John Milton has been held by many to be the noblest type of a Puritan. I think that John Winthrop, as seen both in his public career and his domestic life, in deeds as well as words, is a far nobler personification of the essential spirit and flower of Puritanism.

Early in the progress of this courtship by this noble Puritan wooer, a love-letter was written, which fortunately still exists. It is a love-letter to Margaret Tyndal, but it was not written to her by her lover, but by her lover's father, Adam Winthrop. It is so quaint in expression, so tender in sentiment, so winning, that it certainly occupies a unique position, showing us what a delightful, interesting old courtier a Puritan father-in-law could be. It shall be given, deservedly, a first place among the love-letters in this account of Margaret Winthrop's courting. It is written in Adam Winthrop's most careful and largest hand, and evidently with a new pen, in honor to the "faire ladye." It is as follows: —

I am, I assure you (Gentle Mistress Margaret) alredy inflamed with a fatherly Love and affection

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towardes you; the wch at the first the only report of your modest behaviour, and mielde nature, did breede in my hearte; but nowe throughe the manifest tokens of your true love & constant minde wch I perceyve to be settled in you towards my soonne, the same is exceedingly increased in mee. So that I cannot abstaine from expressinge it unto you by my pen in my absence, wch my tounge and mouthe I hope shal shortely declare unto you in presence. And then I doute not, but I shal have juste cause to prayse God for you, and to thincke myselfe happy, that in my olde age I shal injoye the familiar company of so virtuous and loveing a daughter; and pass the residue of my daies in peace and quietnes. For I have hetherto had greate cause to magnifie his holy name for his loving kindenes & mercy shewed unto mee in my children, and in those to whom they have been maried; that bothe I have alwaies deerly loved and affected them, and they also most lovinglye and dutifully have used mee. And therefore I assure you (good Mistress Margaret) that whatsoever love and kindenes you shal vouchsafe to shewe hereafter unto mee, I will not only requite it with the like, but also to the utter most of my power redouble the same. And for that I would fayne make it a little parte of your fayth to beleeve, that you shal be happye in matchinge wth my soonne. I doe heere faithfully promise for him (in the presence of almighty God) that he will alwaies be a most kinde and lovinge husbande unto you and a provident stuarde for you and yours dur-

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ing his lyfe, and also after his deathe. Thus with my harty comendacions to your selfe, and to the good Lady your deere mother, confirminge my true Love and promise unto you, by a token of a smale value, but of a pure substance wch I sende you by this trusty bearer, I doe leave you to ye protection of the most mighty Trinitye, this last of March 1618.

Your assured frende,

ADAM WINTHROP.

This solemn and confident assurance of Adam Winthrop for his son was faithfully fulfilled. John Winthrop was indeed a "most kinde and lovinge husbande;" and Margaret Winthrop was truly "happye in matchinge" with him.

There also still exist two of John Winthrop's love-letters to his "dearest friend and most heartily beloved Mrs Margaret Tyndal." They are very long, too long to be given here in full; but portions of them must be quoted to show their remarkable Biblical wording, which was so characteristic of the man and the times. The Puritan was a "Scripturist with all his heart." He took from Scripture his faith, his laws, his language, often even his names. The historian Green says the Englishman of that day was a man of one book, and that book the Bible. The influence of this constant reading and study of the Bible was

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plainly shown both in the Puritan's composition and his forms of speech. Our ordinary conversation to-day is full of unconscious quotation from modern popular authors, — Dickens, Thackeray, Scott, and from Shakespeare, Pope, and Dryden; but John Winthrop and his friends used the figures of speech — the very words — of their only universal book, the book of their hearts, the Bible; and this familiar adoption of Bible imagery and poetic expression, especially as shown in the Apocalypse and the Prophets, gave a certain nobility of form and ardour of wording, particularly in matters of sentiment or deep feeling, which may to-day seem sometimes stilted or over-forcible and occasionally scarcely cognate, but never trivial or commonplace.

John Winthrop was evidently a deep student and lover of the books of the Hagiographa, especially of the Song of Solomon; and in his Christian Experience, — a curious and touching record of his inmost spiritual thoughts, — and in many of his letters to his friends, he adopts the analogies and comparisons of that book, where they scarcely seem so well adapted as in his love-letters. The Song of Solomon was at that time termed in the sacred calendar the Canticle of Canticles, and the text reference in the letter, "Cant;

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2," is to that title. His first love-letter begins thus: —

"Grace mercie & peace, &c;

"My onely beloved Spouse, my most sweet friend, & faithfull companion of my pilgrimage, the happye & hopefull supplie (next Christ Jesus) of my greatest losses, I wishe thee a most plentifull increase of all true comfort in the love of Christ, wth a large & prosperous addition of whatsoever happynesse the sweet estate of holy wedlocke, in the kindest societye of a lovinge husbande, may afford thee. Beinge filled wth the joye of thy love, & wantinge opportunitye of more familiar comunion wth thee, wch my heart fervently desires, I am constrained to ease the burthen of my minde by this poore helpe of my scriblinge penne, beinge sufficiently assured that, although my presence is that wch thou desirest, yet in the want thereof, these lines shall not be unfruitfull of comfort unto thee. And now, my sweet Love, lett me a whyle solace my selfe in the remembrance of our love, of wch this springe tyme of acquaintance can putt forthe as yet no more but the leaves & blossomes, whilest the fruit lyes wrapped up in the tender budd of hope; a little more patience will disclose this good fruit, & bringe it to some maturitye; let it be o^{r} care & labour to preserve these hopefull budds from the beasts of the fielde, & from frosts & other injuryes of the ayre, least o^{r} fruit fall off ere it be ripe, or lose ought in the beautye & pleasantnesse of it; Lett us pluck up

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suche nettles & thorns as would defraud o^{r} plants of their due nourishment; let us pruine off superfluous branches; let us not sticke at some labour in wateringe & manuringe them; the plentye & goodnesse of o^{r} fruit shall recompense us abundantly; o^{r} trees are planted in a fruitfull soyle; the grounde, & patterne of o^{r} love, is no other but that between Christe & his dear spouse, of whom she speakes as she finds him, My welbeloved is mine & I am his; Love was their banqueting house, love was their wine, love was their ensigne; (Cant; 2.) love was his invitinges, love was hir fayntinges; love was his apples, love was hir comforts; love was his embracings, love was hir refreshinge; love made him see hir, love made hir seeke him; (Jer; 2. 2. Ezek; 16.) love made him wedd hir, love made her followe him; love made him his saviour, love makes hir his servant. (Jo; 3. 16. Deut; 10. 12.) Love bred o^{r} fellowshippe, let love continue it, & love shall increase it, until deathe dissolve it. The prime fruit of the spirit is love; (Gal; 5. 22.) truethe of Spirit & true love: abound wth the spirit, & abounde wth love; continue in the spirit & continue in love; Christ in his love so fill o^{r} hearts wth holy hunger & true appetite, to eate & drinke wth him & of him in this his sweet Love feast, wch we are now preparing unto, that when o^{r} love feast shall come, Christ Jesus himselfe may come in unto us, & suppe wth us, & we wth him; so shall we be merrye indeed. (O my sweet Spouse) can we esteeme eache others love, as worthy the recompense of o^{r} best mutuall affections, & can

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we not discerne so muche of Christs exceedinge & undeserved love, as may cheerfully allure us to love him above all? He loved us & gave himself for us; & to helpe the weaknesse of the eyes & hande & mouthe of o^{r} faithe, wch must seeke him in heaven where he is, he offers himselfe to the eyes, hands & mouthe of o^{r} bodye, heere on earthe where he once was. The Lord increace o^{r} faithe."

Margaret Winthrop did not say of this, as of a later letter, that it served as a sermon to her, but she might well have done so. I select two paragraphs from a second letter to show that some opposition was made to the marriage by Margaret Tyndal's relatives, — not because it was an unequal match, but simply because Adam Winthrop was still Lord of the Manor, and John Winthrop's income was consequently small, and his power of settlement of money upon a wife was very limited. John Winthrop was, therefore, without fortune or fame, and he was also burdened with the expense of a family of four children.

"By this wch I have allreadye written I may seeme to confirme those objections wch thy friends have moved, & to grant that there should be great causes of discouragement offered thee in outward respects; But I trust I shall make it appeare that thou shalt have no wronge or disparagement by matchinge wth me, all things beinge indifferently

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considered; I confesse it is possible that I may die verye soone, & then thy maintenance for a while may be somewhat lesse then convenient; but it is more likely that I may live a fewe yeares wth thee, wch will certainly better thy conditiō. But whether I live longer or lesse while, I can lett thee see how, wth a little patience, thy meanes may be better than 80^lb^ a yeare; yet can I promise no more for present certaintye then I have formerly acquainted thy friends w^th^; neither would I that thou shouldest make this knowne to them. I had rather that they should finde it then expecte it. Whatsoever shall be wantinge of that wch thy love deserves, my kindest affection shall endeavour to supplie, whilst I live, & what I leave unsatisfied (as I never hope to be out of thy debt) I will sett over to Him who is able, & will recompence thee to the full; & for the present, I wish thee to followe the prophets exhortatiō Psal; 27, 14. Waite on the Lord, be of good courage, & he shall strengthen thyne heart; Waite I say on the Lorde. . . .

" Havinge seariously considered of that unequall conflicte wch for my sake thou didst lately sustaine, & wherein yet, (although the odds were great), God beinge on thy side, thou gatest the victorye, I have had from hence a large provocatiō to acknowledge Gods providence & speciall favour towards me, & to give him thankes for so great experience as hathe been offred me heerby of thy godlinesse, love, wisdome, & inviolable constancie; — wch as in itselfe it deserves all approbatiō, so in me it is of suche vertue as the more I thinke of it, the more it drawes

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& knitts my heart unto thee, and hathe setled that estimatiō of thy love therein, as (I am truly persuaded) nothinge but deathe shall abolishe or diminishe it. Such an invincible resolutiō could not have been founde in a poore fraile woman, had not thine armes been strengthened by the mightie God of Jacob. He it was wch gave an other spirit to thyselfe & that good Lady thy mother, wth Caleb & Josuah, constantly to followe the Lord against all the discouragements of the greater parte, — yea when my selfe, too cowardly & unkindly ioyned armes wth thine opposers against thee; But nowe doe I knowe that thou lovest me, & heerby we may bothe be fully assured that this thinge comethe of the Lorde Therefore it is my desire to confirme thy heart in this resolutiō; not that I feare any change (farre be suche a thought from me) but for that I wishe thee a large additiō of comfort to thy constancie, wch may mollifie & heale up the scarres of such wounds as may yet remaine of thy late conflicte. And now I will take lib^tie^ to deale freely wth thee since there is no need of persuasiō, nor any feare of suspitiō of flaterye; & let me tell thee that as thou hast doone worthyly & Christianly, so thou hast doone no otherwise than became thee being one professinge to feare God & beleeve in him; for (what so ever I am or may be, yet) beinge, in thy accompt, a servant of God & one that thou mightest well hope to be furthered to heaven by (Amen I say), & beinge offred unto thee by God, & thy selfe beinge as warrantably called to embrace the opportunitye as

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a woman might be, I see not how thou couldst have had peace to thine owne heart if thou hadst refused it; but. thou mightest iustly have feared least, for wthdrawinge thy heart from God & leaninge to thine owne reason, he should have given thee over to some suche matche as should have proved a plauge to thy soule all thy dayes; Let worldly minds that savour not the things of God, & that indeed have no parte or portion in the least of Gods promises, bende all their care & studye to secure themselves of an earthly happinesse; let them make sure of great portions wth their wives & large Ioyntures from their husbands; they doe but their kinde & I confesse it concernes them very muche to looke especially to suche things, for there is nothing else wch they can have comfort or happinesse in, havinge no parte in Christ & beinge strangers from the covenant of grace."

In order to show fully the Puritan methods of courtship I think I may compare these letters specially and very naturally with another love-letter written at exactly the same date by a fellow-barrister of Winthrop's. The two lawyers were both Puritans, in similar circumstances in life, of equal social position, and Serjeant Erasmus Earle rose under Cromwell to a dignified position in his profession. Serjeant Earle wrote frequently to his sweetheart, who, like Margaret Tyndal, lived out of London in the country, and his

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letters are deeply affectionate and are always kind; but they lack the beautiful religious sentiment which marks John Winthrop's letters, and they do not compare with the latter in point of literary style, for they are sometimes stilted in expression, often touched with euphuism, and are disfigured with legal conceits. The earlier letters were in neatly printed characters, not in writing, showing that Frances Fontayne, who was afterwards Mrs. Earle, was no great scholar; but also presenting to posterity an easily deciphered page, thereby a speaking and grateful contrast to some of John Winthrop's bewilderingly hieroglyphic epistles.

I quote one of the most pleasing and least affected of Serjeant Earle's love-letters: —

If I could and durst (my worthelye best beloved) by these beuraying letters reveale my love and anatomies my restles passions, I am assured that then the sinceritie of my love, the localitie of my thoughts, and the unmoveablenes of my affection would move thee to pittie, if not purchase favour of thee for me that most dearlie love thee. But fearinge to comitte such secrets to these longe tongued papers, I leave thee to suppose of that which I neather can, noe, nor dare discover but to thy trustie selfe; earnestlie intreatinge thee that as thou art most lovelie soe thou wouldst be most lovinge; and that as thou art full of favour

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soe thou wouldst be favourable to him whoe hath placed his sole happines in thy favour, and devoted and vowed himselfe onlie to please and pleasure thee. For the platform of love is able to receive but one impression; and seeinge that love liketh without exception, lett the smallnes of my estate be countervailed with the greatnes of my love; and albeit I have not wherewithall to enriche thee yet happily my meane estate may yield thee content. Blame me not (O, my love) if my tediousnes prove troublesome, for soe has the exquisitenes of thy outward lineaments, and the excellence of thy inward virtues inthralled me that (I must confesse) I onlie thinke that time well bestowed which I spend in meditatinge and admiringe thy perfections. I have by this gentleman, my cosen, sent thee a token which thoughe in itselfe be not worthy thy receavinge yett I hope for thy gentle acceptance, but desire not any from thee unless it be uppon some other occasion, than the losse of thyselfe; thou knowest my meanynge. But not darringe so farre to presume upon thy patience I take my leave desiringe thee to remember my love to all thy sisters in general, but especiallie to thy sister Palgrave to whomme next unto thyselfe I owe all love and due respect. And thus restinge restless, until I rest dearest in thy favour, wishing thee all thy wishes, I end

Thine more trulie than mine owne

ERASMUS EARLE.

This letter smells rather too strongly of midnight oil to prove a very graceful incense

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of love; but love-letters were in those days seldom emotional and unstudied effusions, but instead carefully arranged and labored epistles. They appear to have been highly satisfactory, however, to the recipients, and a matter of much honest pride to the writers. We find another Puritan, Sir Simonds D'Ewes (doubtless a friend of Winthrop, since he married Anne Clopton, of the family of Thomasine Clopton, Winthrop's second wife), who also felt his love-letter of enough importance to be inserted in his autobiography; and I think myself that the sentences are very prettily turned. He says they are "the only lines sent during my wooing-time and but short."

FAIREST, — Blest is the heart and hand that sincerely sends these meaner lines, if another heart and eye graciously deign to pity the wound of the first and numbness of the latter; and thus may this other poor inclosed carcanet, if not adorn the purer neck, yet lie hidden in the private cabinet of her whose humble sweetness and sweet humility deserves the justest honour, the greatest thankfulness. Nature made stones, but opinion — jewels; this without your milder acceptance and opinion will prove neither stone nor jewel. Do but enhappy him that sent it, in the ordinary use of it, who though unworthy of himself, resolves to continue your humblest servant.

SIMONDS D'EWES.

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It is very evident that Sir Simonds D'Ewes was specially proud of his epistolary productions; for, writing afterwards to his wife, he asks her to treasure his letters carefully and send them back to him. But perhaps he only saved them as he saved everything else; for this lover, who boasted his wife had the smallest foot of any woman in England, was an inveterate hoarder and antiquary, one of the "dry-as-dusts," of whom Carlyle speaks so contemptuously, but to whom I can never express enough gratitude.

It may be seen, by comparison of these letters, that Puritans differed in temperament and address, as might Jew from Christian; yet the letters of all show unmistakably the wording and phrasing of the times, and could never be taken for nineteenth-century love-missives.

Now, having shown the sober expressions of love of those of Puritan faith and seventeenth-century training, and the special influences upon the life of Margaret Tyndal during her girlhood and her wooing, let me begin the life of Margaret Winthrop with her marriage in April, 1618.

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II

MARGARET WINTHROP'S HOME

THE house at Groton Manor, to which John Winthrop carried his wife on the 24th of April, 1618, is no longer standing. The manor had been granted to Adam Winthrop for the sum of four hundred pounds, at the dissolution of the monasteries in the reign of Henry VIII., and the house was one of the ordinary manor-houses of the day. A plan of its ground-floor shows hall, parlor, brew-house, bakehouse, etc. In it were living, at the time of this marriage, Adam Winthrop the second (the father of John Winthrop) and his wife Anne, the daughter of Henry Browne, of Edwardston, a neighboring village. Anne Winthrop was an industrious and devoted wife, a tender mother, an intelligent writer, as her letters show, and a good French scholar. Their daughter Lucy, a girl of eighteen, was then unmarried, and was also at the Groton home. Adam Winthrop was a serjeant-at-law, a lawyer, but not of large

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practice. He filled for sixteen years the dignified position of auditor of Trinity College, Cambridge, and he was for nearly the same time auditor of St. John's College. The impression conveyed of him, through every conscious and unconscious record that remains of his life, is that of a genial, gentle, and intelligent Christian. A diary of his has been preserved; and while the entries are scarcely more than meagre suggestions of events, they show as a whole his life of simple dignity and usefulness, and they reveal also the customs of his day and country. Some are purely domestic: —

"The 2 of Jan. Mr Mammocke sent me III yardes of Satten for a token of this nue yeare."

"This day my brother did kill a brock with his hounds. The XXIIth of August I dragde my great pond and took out XXV great Carpes.

"The 22 day of Aprill Grymble my great mastiffe was hanged, a gentle dog in the house but eyes oft blind.

"The V day Charles had his livery cote.

"My brother Alibaster came to my house & toulde me yt he mayde certayne inglish verses in his sleep, which he recited unto me & I lent him £XL."

Others refer to his riding to Cambridge to attend auditors' meetings and to Commence

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ment. It must be remembered that the University of Cambridge was not far from Groton Manor; and even had the distance been greater, it would have been made on horseback, for bridle-paths were very good in those days in those counties, while of carriage-roads there were none in what would to-day be deemed even passable condition. Some entries tell of his keeping court-leet and court-baron, the domestic courts of the day. Others note the public events of his times, — the death of Queen Elizabeth, the ride of King James through the city of London, his visit to Cambridge, the great processions, the King's proclamation that England and Scotland be named Great Britain; but records of this latter class are not so frequent nor so full as might be expected. We must remember that the first English newspaper, *The Diurnal Occurrences*, was not printed till 1640–41; hence Adam Winthrop had no method of knowing many details of public events, save by letter or word of mouth.

We also learn from the old journal of friendly and state visits made and received by the Groton household, by every one who had what old Judge Sewall called "a smell of relation," — from the Mildmays, Sir Joseph Deane, Sir Isaac Appleton, Sir Robert

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Crane, the Brownes, Cloptons, Gurdons, Alibasters, and other gentlefolk in the neighborhood, among them some men of note.

The county of Suffolk was ever the birthplace of men of deep thought and intelligence, — such men as Cardinal Wolsey, and Elizabeth's lord keeper, Lord Bacon. Quoth Queen Elizabeth most ungraciously, during a Royal Progress through Devon (after having been recently through Suffolk and Essex): "I now understand the saying, 'The Wise Men came from the East.'"

Among families of note and intelligence in the neighborhood of Groton were the Mildmays, — relatives of the Winthrops, and perhaps the most influential family in all Essex, for nine splendid county-seats were at that time owned by different members of the family. Sir William Mildmay had "quickened the death-agonies of the monasteries," and his family grew great with the spoil.

Winthrop's sister Alice married Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Graces. Their son, Sir Henry Mildmay, married first the daughter of Sir William Harris, then Amy Gurdon of Assington, of a family long intimate with the Winthrops and kin to the Saltonstalls. Governor Gurdon Saltonstall of Connecticut was an American scion of that English family

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tree. Between the Lady Amy Mildmay and her fond old uncle Adam Winthrop, there existed a deep affection, which showed itself in some of the quaintest letters I have ever read. They are found carefully copied into Adam Winthrop's Commonplace-Book. They abound in such affectionate and antiquated expressions as these: "Most loveing Neece, most worthye to be loved and honored alwaies by mee; I received pure honye and not bare wordes in the lettre which you sent to mee." "Most kinde Ladie Yor sweete lettres cominge from the abundance of yor love were joyefully received into the closet of my best affections." She in turn reiterated her deep love and respect for him. These letters add to the pleasing notion we have of Adam Winthrop's character, to his charming personality; and his courtliness is proved in some verses which he made for his "most loveing neece" at the birth of her son Henry. Though the author says, "from old and barren braynes these verses rude doe fall," we can find nothing rude in them, but read between the lines further evidence of his tenderness. This child Henry, thus sung in Adam Winthrop's verse, lived to become one of the Regicide Judges (as did John Gurdon, Amy Mildmay's brother); but he did not sign the famous

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death-warrant (since a sufficient number signed before him), hence he was not executed, but was only sentenced "to be drawn on a hurdle under the gallows on a sledge every 30th of January." He lived at Wansted House, Essex, and died abroad after a varied career. Those who wish to learn of it may read the autobiography of his implacable political enemy Sir John Bramstone. A portrait of him exists, painted after death to prove his decease. Sir Thomas Mildmay, his father, was the son of Sir William Mildmay, the founder of Emanuel College, Cambridge, the nursing-mother of Puritans. Its influence was foreseen by Queen Elizabeth, who said to Sir William, then her Chancellor of Exchequer (one of the most important officers in the realm), "I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation." He answered her that he could ever do naught but what was her wish and the law of her kingdom, but he had planted an acorn, "and who could tell what the full grown oak would bear?" The branches of that oak indeed spread wide, and its fruit fell in New England soil; a large proportion of the Puritan ministers who came to New England were graduates of Emanuel College.

In such high-minded and intelligent companionship, in such essentially Puritan

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influences, was John Winthrop reared, and the early years of Margaret Winthrop's married life were passed. An interesting token and memento of these happy years, and of what Carlyle calls this "cousinry" still exists, and is now in the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., — a stone pot to which this quaint label is attached: —

"At ye Feast of St Michael An^{o} 1607 my Sister ye Lady Mildmay, did give me a Stone Pot tipped and covered wth a Silver Lydd."

It was given to the Society by William Winthrop, the great-great-great-grandson of Margaret Winthrop, and last surviving son of Prof. John Winthrop. It is of much value as a ceramic specimen, as well as of historical interest. Its lid bears a very crudely designed engraving of Adam and Eve and the Tree of Life.

The country around Margaret Winthrop's new home at Groton differed little from that of "Muche Maplestead." The scenery had a quiet, peaceful home beauty which has been made familiar to us in the canvases of Constable and Gainsborough, who were both Suffolk men, — the latter born at Sudbury, but a few miles from Margaret Winthrop's home. Constable delighted to paint the green marsh-

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lands, with their rank elders and willows, and the rich fields, which showed in his day, to use Carlyle's words, "marks of comfortable long-continued cultivation." The cows of Constable are the hornless Suffolk breed. Even in Winthrop's day Suffolk was a "comfortable" farm land, and it was the first English county to enclose its commons, making "Suffolk stiles" a proverb. Thomas Tusser, in his Comparison of Counties, written in 1579, cites Suffolk as plainly showing in its plentiful mutton, beef, butter, and cheese the benefits of enclosed fields. Old Thomas Fuller wrote of Suffolk: —

> "The air thereof is generally sweet, and by the best physicians esteemed the best in England, often prescribing the receipt thereof to consumptionish patients. I say generally sweet, there being a small parcel near the sea shore not so excellent, which may seem left there by Nature on purpose to advance the purity of the rest."

In the low-lying wet portions near the shore, agues prevailed. John Winthrop's family, far inland, were oft sufferers therefrom; for even there the land was, as one writer said, of a "somewhat dropsical character."

The chief natural commodities at that day were butter and cheese. "Suffolk milk" was a proverbial expression in England for the

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best milk. The chief manufacture was clothing, or we should now say cloth, since the word clothing is at present applied to made-up garments. The wool-working Flemings settled early in Suffolk, and were encouraged in their "art and mystery" by Edward III. and his Queen Philippa of Hainault, daughter of the Count of Holland and Hainault. Says one monastic chronicler, "Ever blessed be Philippa who first invented clothes." In this he did not intend to cast doubt upon the pretensions of Adam and Eve to the honor universally accoded to them, but simply used the old-time form of the word cloth. In Sudbury, near Groton, these Dutch and Flemish weavers settled, who first brought the industry of cloth-weaving into the country. The names "kersey" and "linsey-woolsey" come from the names of the Suffolk towns of Kersey and Lindsey. Weaver, in his Funeral Monuments, notes the rich brasses and monuments erected in Suffolk to the memory of wealthy clothiers. Many of the most beautiful ones were, alas, destroyed by that Puritan iconoclast, Will Dowsing, in 1643, in the senseless destruction of organs, painted windows, etc., and other "Popish idols" in English cathedrals and churches. Dowsing destroyed thirty brasses in the church of All Hallows in

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Sudbury. The beautiful and spacious Lavenham church, near Groton, was built by Thomas Spring, the "rich clothier," a kinsman of the Winthrops. It stands now in a mean little village of few houses. Adam Winthrop, grandfather of John Winthrop, held a distinguished position in the famous Clothworkers Company of London. He was steward, warden, and finally master. A portrait of him is extant, in furred gown and citizen's cap, showing a countenance indicative of intelligence and fearlessness. Wool was then the principal staple of Great Britain, as well it might be, for till the reign of Henry VIII. English garments from head to foot were wholly of wool, even the shoes. Thomas Fuller said, "The wealth of our nation is folded up in broadcloth." Wool was even currency. In Skelton's day Eleanor Rumynge, the alewife, thus received payment: —

> 'Some fill their pot full
> Of good Lemster wool."

The manufacture of wool was the principal industry of England, and its trade was guarded by severe laws. Knight, in his History of England, refers to the cloth-workers of Suffolk as resisting successfully royal attempts to unjustly tax their manufactures.

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The county of Suffolk had another claim to renown. The women of the shire had such a reputation for beauty that the expression "Suffolk fair maids" became the third Suffolk proverb. Thomas Fuller gallantly said: "The God of nature hath been bountiful in giving them beautiful complexions, which I am willing to believe so far forth as it fixeth not a comparative disparagement on the same sex in other counties."

The native of Massachusetts who chances to travel to-day through these counties of Suffolk and Essex in England, perchance seeking the old homes of his ancestors and traces of their life, has within him a certain sense of familiarity, of topographical kinship, a home-feeling, when he finds lying around him the towns of Ipswich, Hadleigh, Groton, Haverhill, Rowley, Medfield, Braintree, Danbury, Malden, Billerica, Waltham, Dedham, Norwich, Hingham, and others of Massachusetts nomenclature. The town of Sudbury lies halfway between Groton Manor and Great Maplestead. These English towns were the mothers, but many of the New England daughters have outgrown their forbears. Old New England family names are equally common, even as seen upon shop-signs when passing places of business, and also as found in church and

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town records, — such names as Eliot, Curtis, Heath, Haynes, Gore, Sherman, Coggeshall, Fiske, Gurdon, Morse, Aspinwall, Appleton, and scores of others. The name of Winthrop is not found in Groton, save on mouldering tombstones and on the tablets in the village church.

There were four children of John Winthrop in this home to which he brought his third wife, — the oldest, John, of whom we shall hear much in this story of Margaret's life; Henry and Forth, who died childless; and Mary, who married Samuel Dudley in New England.

These were the children of the first wife, Mary Forth, daughter and sole heiress of John Forth, Esq., of Great Stambridge in County Essex. She was twenty-one when John Winthrop married her, and he was but seventeen years and three months. He was only eighteen when his son was born. He says, in his Christian Experience: —

"About eighteen years of age, being a man in stature and understanding, as my parents conceived me, I married into a family under Mr. Culverwell his ministry in Essex; and living there sometimes I first found the ministry of the word come home to my heart with power, for in all before I only found light."

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John Winthrop wrote of his wife Mary that she was "a right godly woman;" but there are no letters of hers among the family papers to indicate her character and traits save one little note addressed to her "sweet husband," and of interest only because it was treasured by her son John; but her children have risen up and called her blessed.

There had been a second wife, Thomasine Clopton, who had lived but a year and a day, and whose child had died shortly after its birth. She was the daughter of William Clopton, Esq., of Castleins, a seat near Groton, and she was of a family high in social rank and distinction. Its glories have been sung by Sir Simonds D'Ewes in his autobiography. Among the Winthrop papers was found a most touching narration of the death of Thomasine Winthrop in the handwriting of her husband.

One curious custom of that century may be noted in this recital,—that of tolling the passing-bell. This was done, not to indicate the death of a person, but while they were supposed to be dying, or, as Nollekens said, "going from this world to another place." A gruesome feature of this custom was that in the uncertainty of life and of death the bell often tolled when the sick person did not die, as is

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shown in several entries in Adam Winthrop's diary: —

"1602. The 27 day in the mornyng the Bell did goe for mother Tiffeyn but she recoured.

"1603. The VIIth of April Robt Surrey's wife lay speechless & the bell went for her but she died the XVIIJ[th].

"The bell went for Mr Clopton. But he Recovered."

In the touching account of the death of Thomasine Winthrop, we read of the dying woman: —

"She desired that the bell mighte ringe for hir, and diverse of the neighbours came in to hir, which when she perceived she desired me that they might come to hir one by one and so she would speake to them all, which she did as they came, comfortably and quietly. When the bell beganne to ringe, some said it was the 4 o'clock bell, but she conceeivinge that they sought to conceale it from hir, that it did ringe for hir, she said it needed not, for it did not troble hir."

Thomasine Winthrop did not die until forty-eight hours after the bell from the square tower of the parish church of Groton had sadly tolled her passing.

Her husband's account of her last sickness is strikingly similar to the account given by another Puritan, Philip Stubbes, of the death

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of his wife Katherine. Both died of a fever, a burning ague, after the birth of their first child. The prayers to God, the admonitions to surrounding friends, the exultant confession of faith, and the wonderful and realistic conflict with Satan through brunt of temptation on the very eve of death are the same in both narrations. Both were young, Katherine Stubbes but eighteen; both of gentle, simple, God-fearing lives, with no thought or deed of wrong; and the account of their lives and deaths, as given by their grieving husbands, is, to use Mr. Furnivall's words, "grateful to the mind, notwithstanding the dark background of hard religionism." But the accounts have one great difference: that of Katherine Stubbes was for publication in a tract called A Christiall Glas for Christian Women, which had a widespread circulation and large publication, and is slightingly referred to in many plays, — in Cartwright's The Ordinary (1634), Richard Browne's The Antipodes (1638), etc. John Winthrop's tender story was written only for his own eye, in sad memory of a dearly loved girl-wife, and it was not made public till two centuries after his death. His account ends with this tribute to her character: —

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"She was a woman wise, modest, lovinge and patient of injuries; but hir innocent and harmless life was of most observation. She was truly religious and industrious therein; plaine hearted and free from guile and very humble minded; never so adicted to any outward thinges (in my judgment) but that she could bringe hir affections to stoope to Gods will in them. She was sparing in outward showe of zeale, but hir constant love to good Christians and the best things, with hir reverent and carefull attendance of Gods ordinances, both publique and private, with hir care for avoydinge of evill hirselfe and reprovinge it in others, did plainly showe that truth and love of God did lye at the heart. Hir lovinge and tender regard of my children was such as might well become a naturall mother; ffor hir carriage towards myselfe, it was so amiable and observant as I am not able to expresse; it had this onely inconvenience, that it made me delight too much in hir to enjoye hir longe."

This gentle creature, when dying, called for John Winthrop's children, and "blessed them severally and would needs have Mary brought that she might kiss hir." Thus did these children lose a second tender mother; but God's Providence and John Winthrop's thoughtful affection brought to them a third equally loving.

In April, 1619, Margaret Winthrop's first

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child was born, and named Stephen; and very near did the mother come to death, and once more did poor John Winthrop sadly face the thought of a desolated life, and once more did he appeal to the Lord for help.

"I humbled myselfe in fastinge and mourninge. I searched my heart for some sinnes and made my peace with my God and so getting a more large and melting heart to goe unto the Lord, I sett myselfe to prayer. The day after her deliverance she was taken with a burning feaver wch heald hir so as after the eighth day was passed my Cosin Duke made little reconinge of hir life, but within one daye after beinge the tenth daye of hir sicknesse diverse godly ministers meetinge togither did in their prayer remember hir case in particular and that very daye and houre (as neere as might be guessed) she founde a sensible release of hir disease. The Lord be blessed forevermore."

The godparents of this child were his grandmother, Lady Tyndal, and her brother Stephen Egerton, and her son Deane Tyndal.

Two years later another son was born and named Adam for his loving grandfather. The godparents were Mary Cole and Philip and Jane Gostling. Soon after the birth of this son John Winthrop made a will in which perhaps the most remarkable feature was that he named his son John Winthrop executor,

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and the boy was then a lad of only fifteen years; thus early were his reliable traits of character evinced to the father's sight. It appears from this will that John Winthrop had been already assigned the manor of Groton by his father Adam. He names in the will various pieces of land, — Mastermans Cross, Mastermans Grove, Stubbins Cross, Honylies Grove, Upper Crabtreewent, etc.

It was well, perhaps, for Margaret Winthrop to have this large family to keep her company and engross her time, for she was often separated from her husband. The duties of his profession and office kept him much in London and on the circuit. He was a lawyer, and, if we can believe Cotton Mather, he was a justice of the peace when he was only eighteen. His professional business was large and profitable. He held an attorneyship in the important Court of Wards and Liveries, a court which held jurisdiction over wards, widows, and lunatics. Its functions were also somewhat those of our present Probate Court. He also drafted parliamentary bills, a lucrative form of legal business. During this time he had chambers in London, some of the time at Temple Lane "near the Cloyster." The life at that time of lawyers in chambers in London was exceedingly interesting. There lingered many

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ancient customs and quaint survivals of old-time ceremonials, which may be read by the curious in Pearce's History of the Inns of Court. I find it hard to connect the thought of John Winthrop with these customs; but I suppose he was interested in them, even if he did not take part in them.

The existing letters exchanged by Governor Winthrop and his wife Margaret have been several times printed: some, with other letters, with John Winthrop's History of New England; some in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society; others in Mr. Robert C. Winthrop's Life of John Winthrop; and many of them have been recently reprinted as a separate collection in a charming form, under the title of Some Old Puritan Love-Letters, with careful and intelligent editing and notes by Rev. Joseph Hopkins Twichell. They form a perfect exemplification of the beautiful conjugal affection existing between this husband and this wife, — a love which may be fitly described in the words used by another Puritan woman, Lucy Hutchinson, of her own marriage, —

"There is this to be recorded: there was never a passion more ardent and less idolatrous; he loved her better than his life, with inexpressible tenderness and kindness, had a most high obliging

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esteem of her, yet still considered honour, religion and duty above her. . . . She was a very faithful mirror reflecting truly though but dimly his own glories upon him; so long as he was present . . . The greatest excellency she had was the power of apprehending and the virtue of loving him."

Since John Winthrop was separated at this time so frequently and for such long intervals from his wife, we have many letters which they exchanged during these years. I give two written by Margaret Winthrop. The first is certainly one of the most exquisitely trusting and tender letters that ever were printed. Its piety and simplicity endow it with a marked and singular spirituality that makes it seem the typical voice and expression of a pure and idyllic married love.

My most sweet Husband, — How dearely welcome thy kinde letter was to me I am not able to expresse. The sweetnesse of it did much refresh me. What can be more pleasinge to a wife, than to heare of the welfayre of hir best beloved, and how he is pleassed with hir pore endevours. I blush to heare my selfe commended, knowinge my owne wants; but it is your love that conceaves the best and makes all thinges seme better then they are. I wish that I may be allwayes pleasinge to thee, and that those comforts we have in each other may be dayly increaced as far as thay be pleasing to God. I will use that speach to thee

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that Abygal did to David, I will be a servant to wash the feete of my Lord. I will doe any service whearein I may please my good Husband. I confes I cannot doe ynough for thee, but thou art pleased to accept the will for the deede and rest contented.

I have many resons to make me love thee wheareof I will name two; first because thou lovest God, and secondly because that thou lovest me. If these two are wantinge all the rest would be eclipsed. But I must leave this discorse and goe about my household affayers. I am a bad huswife to be so longe from them; but I must needs borrowe a little time to talke with thee my sweet hart. The terme is more than halfe done. I hope thy businesse drawes to an end. It will be but 2 or 3 weekes before I see thee, though thay be longe ones. God wil bringe us together in his good time for wch time I shall pray. I thanke the Lord we are all in health. Wee are very glad to heare so good Nuse of our sonne Henry. The Lord make us thanke full for all his mercyes to us and ours. And thus with my mothers and my owne best love to your selfe and all the rest I shal leave scriblinge. The wether being colde makes me make hast. Farwel my good Husband; the Lord kepe thee

Your obedyent wife
MARGARET WINTHROPE.

November 22 GROTON.

I have not yet receved the box but I will send for it. I send up a turkey and some chese. I

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pray send my sonne Foorth such a knife as mine is. Mrs Hugen would pray you to by a cake for the boyes. I did dyne at Grotton hall yesterday thay are in helth and remember thear love wee did wish you theare but that would not bringe you and I coulde not be merry with out thee.

To my deare and very lovinge Husband John Winthrope Esquire at Mr. Downings house in Fleet Street right over agaynst the Counduit These deliver, — London.

My beloved and good Husband, — I must craue pardon for my not righting to you the last weeke. Your letter came so late to me hands upon Tuesday that I coulde not right that night, and hearinge of no other messenger, I have bin constrayned to let it alone till this weeke, and so have had the more time to consider of it. I doe ione with you in beseechinge the Lorde to direct our wayes and thoughts aright hearein, and that wee may submit unto his holy will in this and all other thinges, to doe that may be for his glory and the comfort of ourselues and others. I doe see yours and the rest of my frends great love and care of me and of all ours, in that you are so mindfull of our good, wch doeth more and more knet my affections to you. I pray God I may walke so as I may be worthy of all your loves. For the matter of which you right about, of takeinge a house at Thiselworth, I like well in some respect, in regard of the good Minister and good people and teachinge for our children. But I must aledge one thinge, that I feare in your

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cominge to and fro, lest if you should be ventrus upon the water, if your passage be by water wch I know not, it may be dangerous for you in the winter time, the wether beinge colde and the waters perilous. And so I shoulde be in continuall feare of you lest you should take any hurt. I did confir with my mother about it and she thinkes you had better take a house in the City, and so come home to your own table and familye; and I am of the same minde, but I shall allwayes submit to what you shal thinke fit. Upon the best consideration I can take, I have resolved to stay heare this winter, in regard that my littel one is very yonge and the wayes very bad to remove such things as wee shall stande in nede of, and we shal leave things very unsetled, and to keepe two famylies will be very chargable to us. And so I thinke it will be our best corce to remove in the springe, and in the meantime commend it to God. It is allredy reported about the countrye that we shal remove and so it will be the lesse strange to them, because they loke for it all ready, and you are to be so much from home.

I have received y^{or} kinde letter by my brother Goslinge for wch I hartily thanke you and for my good sermon wch you sent with it. You doe dayly manyfeast y^{or} love to me and care for my spirituall good, as well as temperall, wch is best of all. I desire of God I may chuse the better part wch cannot be taken from me, wch will stand me in stead when all other things fayle me. For our condishion here wee have yet Mr Leys helpe in our

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famylye, but he is to remove very spedily, his house beinge all-most finished, and when we shall want helpe for good exercises. The Lord in mercy upholde us and strenkthen us by his holy spirit. I cannot but with greefe beare y^{or} longe abscence, but I hope that this will be the last time we shall be so long asunder, wch doeth sumwhat stay and comfort me. The Lord grant I may find sweetnesse in Christ Jesus my spirituall Husband, who is alwayes with me and never fayleth me in time of neede, nor will fayle me unto the end of my life or the life to come. My good mother commends hir love to you all and thankes you for hir tobacko. She would pray you to be carefull of y^{or} selfe that you take no colde. I desire to have my love very kindely remembered to my brother Downinge and sister, my brother Foones and sister, and all my cosins. I prayse God we continue stil in helth; our children at home remember thear duty to you. I thinke very longe to heare of our sonnes at sea. I pray God send us good nuse of them. And thus with my best affection remembred to my deare Husband I take my leave and commit you to God.

Your faythfull and obedient wife

MARGARET WINTHROP.

Thistleworth, now known as Isleworth, is in Middlesex County on the Thames, nearly opposite Richmond. It is evident that the journey to and from London, and the separation from his wife and children had grown

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most irksome to John Winthrop, and that he had resolved to leave his Groton home. He wrote about this time to his son John:—

"I would be lothe to come up before the term except there be necessity; yet I thinke to be there aboute a week before because my horse must be at Houndsloe heathe the 25 of Aprill, and likewise to take order about our removal which I am now (in a maner) resolved of, if God shall dispose for us accordingly, for my charge heere growes very heavye, and I am wearye of these jornies to and fro, so as I will either remove or putt off my office. I woulde have you enquire about a house for Tower Hill, or some such open place, or if I cant be provided so neere I will make trial of Thistleworthe. I would be neer churche and some good school."

It is certainly amusing to read Margaret Winthrop's grave apprehensions that if her husband resided at Thistleworth he might be "ventrus" on the water, that the passage down the Thames to London would prove perilous and dangerous.

But we must remember that the Thames and London of that day were very different from the present river and city. The splendid docks are all of this century. There was but one small dock in Winthrop's time, but there were numerous private wharves. Only one bridge of nineteen arches spanned the river.

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The streets were unpaved, unnumbered, and inexpressibly dirty. The river, through its hundreds of wherries, was a more convenient and decent highway; but the watermen were almost highwaymen, and made the river "perilous." The streets were supposed to be lighted at night by lanterns hung out by private citizens. A portrait of a watchman in days of James I. has these lines: —

> "A light here! maids, hang out your lights,
> And see your horns be clear and bright,
> That so your candle clear may shine
> Continuing from six till nine;
> That honest men that walk along
> May see to pass safe without wrong."

Nine o'clock was then every honest man's bedtime. The Statutes of the Streets of Queen Elizabeth's reign forbade a man to make any sudden outcry after that hour, such as "making any affray or beating his wife." The watchman's cry in the early evening was, "Lanthorne and a whole candell-light, hang out your lights here!" Later he cried the hour and weather, "past ten o'clock, a rainy night," etc., etc.

London was "perilous" and dangerous in other ways, for its streets swarmed night and day with quarrelling, drunken bullies, called roaring boys, bravadoes, roysters, etc. Walter

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Yonge, justice of the peace, of southeast Devon (a Puritan, but not a Separatist), writes in his diary: —

"The beginning of December 1623, there was a great number in London, haunting taverns and other debauched places, who swore themselves into a brotherhood and named themselves Tytere tues. The oath they gave in this manner; he that was to be sworn, did put his dagger into a pottle of wine, and put his hand upon the pommel thereof, and then was to make oath that he would aid and assist all of his fellowship and not disclose their council. There were divers knights, some young noblemen, and gentlemen of this brotherhood, and they were to know one the other by the black bugle which they wore, and their followers to be known by a blue ribbond."

These "tittery-tues," as John Taylor the water-poet called them, were so named in fanciful allusion to the first line of the first eclogue of Virgil, *Tityre, tu patulæ recubans sub tegmine fayi.*

One sentence in Margaret Winthrop's letter is deeply significant, to those who know well, of the keen feeling which existed at that time in England with regard to town-life. "It is allready reported about the country that we shall remove, and so it will be the less strange to them, because they loke for it allready."

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We find Lady Brilliana Harley, Lady D'Ewes, Mistress Frances Earle, Mistress Mary Barnes, and scores of other Puritan women living in the country while their husbands were in chambers in London for many months of the year.

At that time all English landholders were encouraged to live upon their estates. A residence in London was greatly disliked, and even disallowed by the king. In 1617 a proclamation by him strictly commanded all noblemen, knights, and gentlemen who had mansion-houses in the country, unless specially permitted, to depart within twenty days and take their wives and families out of London, and even away from the suburbs, to occupy their own homes, "to perform the duties and charge of their several places and service, and likewise by housekeeping to be a comfort unto their neighbors, in order to renew and to revive the laudable custom of hospitality in their respective counties."

Bishop Hall, in his Satires, complained that through the increasing desertion for cities the "unthankful swallow" built her "circled nest" in

> "The towered chimnies which should be
> The wind-pipes of good hospitalitie."

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Another author deplores the rusty broach; the good cheer turned to empty dish; the lonely wife "tossing and tirling a ball" or "playing with puss" to pass the time. King James I., in a speech at the Star Chamber, spoke of the "swarms of gentry that through the instigation of their wives to new-model and new-fashion their daughters (who, if they were unmarried, marred their marriages; if married, lost their reputations and robbed their husbands' purses) did neglect their country hospitality and cumbered the city, a general nuisance to the kingdom."

Throughout England manor-houses can now be seen which were built to be occupied by the country-loving gentry, now let out to tenant-farmers, while the descendants of these gentlefolks once more "cumber the city, a general nuisance to the kingdom."

King James I. issued another proclamation ordering the demolition of all houses that had been built in the London suburbs since his accession. This order seemed so extravagant that many thought it a pretext for extorting fines. But the law was executed, and from this stupid notion of James as to the proper limits of a city, and his ill-judged attempt to check the development of the capital, came a sorry bequest to England to-day, — some

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of the worst of the present "London rookeries."

The literature of the last part of the sixteenth century shows how deeply English folk felt upon the subject of the growing town-life. Chap-books and tracts abounded with discourse "dialogue-wise" upon the respective benefits and virtues of country and city homes, with such titles as Cyvile and Vncyvile Life; The English Courtier and The Countrey-gentleman; The Court and Country; Discourse of Gentlemen Lying in London that were Better Keep Home in Their Countrey. These pleasant disputations, delectable and pithy saws, worthy observations, etc., are instructively and entertainingly illustrative of old-time manners and ideas. In spite of the ofttimes fantastic phraseology and uncouth mannerisms of these tracts, I have obtained from them much knowledge of the domestic life of England of that day. Some of them are very spirited. Here are a few lines from Churchyard's Challenge: —

"Like one that flings more water in the seas,
Or casts away his gold when it is lost,
The gentleman is seldom well at ease
Till that he ride to London all in post:
And up and down the dice and cards be tost.
When he awhile about the streets doth roam,
He hath to borrow pence to bring him home.

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"O Lord! how soon a man is o'er his shooes
That wades and steps in stream or water deep!
How soon from town in country we have news,
That some spend all, for they can nothing keep.
If such lads were at home in bed asleep,
'T were better sure than lie in London thus
Uppon the score, or like bankrouts iwus."

John Winthrop's residence in London was not from choice or love of city life, but from the exigencies of his office and calling. In his letters to his wife he constantly lamented his absence from home in such tender sentences as these, "My hearte is allready with thee and thy little lambes, and I will hasten home with what speed I may." "My heart is at home and specially with thee my best beloved." "God will give us to meet again in the fruition of our love; in the mean time let this staye our hearts, that no distance of place nor space of tyme can sever us." "I longe greatly to be with thee whom my soul delights in above all earthly things; these tymes of separation are harsh and grievous." "Such is my love to thee my dear Spouse as if it were not to my imployment whereto God hath disposed me did enforce me to it, I could not live comfortably from thee half so long." One letter may be given entire. It is the only one in which any act of hers is questioned. I fear it must be confessed that the

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sin of forgetting to date her letters was not peculiar to this seventeenth-century wife.

My Deare Wife, — Thy sweet Lettres (wthout date) how welcome they were to me I cannot expresse: both in regard of the continuance of thy health & thy little ones, my mother & o^{r} whole familye, for wch I humbly blesse & prayse o^{r} good God & Heavenly Father, & doe heartyly begge of him & trust in him for the continuance of the same mercie to thyselfe & all the rest; as also in respect of the manifestation of the constancie & increase of thy true love wherein (I seariously professe) I doe more reioyce then in any earthly blessinge; O how I prize the sweet society of so modest & faithfull a spouse! O that I could be wise to be thankfull & improve it, accordinge to that esteeme wch I have of it when I want it! I am heere where I have all outward content, most kinde entertainment, good companye & good fare, &c; onely the want of thy presence & amiable society makes me weary of all other accomplem^{ts}, so deare is thy love to me, & so confident am I of the like entertainem^{t} my true affection findes wth thee; O that the consideration of these things could make us raise up o^{r} spirits to a like conformitye of sinceritye & fervencie in the Love of Christ o^{r} Lord & heavenly husband; that we could delight in him as we doe in each other, & that his absence were like greivous to us; But the Love of this present world, how it bewitcheth us & steales away our hearts from him who is o^{r} onely

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life & felicitye; but I must break off this discourse. The blessed protection & favour of the Lord be still wth thee & all o^{r} familye, & bring us togither againe in peace; thou & the rest are kindly remembred of all heere; remember my duty to my mother & my love to all thou knowest I wish it. My brother ffones is gotten abroad againe, my sister is as she useth to be, the rest of us are all in health (I prayse God). Our busınesse goeth on, tho' slowlye as matters use to do at Court. My brother sends Richard home this daye & meanes to stay awhile himselfe, to see further successe. Let Sam come up on monday & bring my horse, for I will leave my brother heare awhile; let him be heere on teusdaye betymes, for I would goe out of London the same daye. Heere is no newes but of the Prince beinge at sea, where he hath bin wind bound a great awhile; Thus embracinge thee in the true affection of a faithfull husband, I will so remaine,

Thine

JOHN WINTHROP.

I have nothinge to send thee but my love, neither shall I bringe thee anythinge but myselfe, wch I knowe wilbe best welcome.

"LONDON, Octob 3, 1623."

These letters of John and Margaret Winthrop had not been very speedy in their carriage. There was at that time but a faint shadow of a postal service. The post to the Continent was the sole one of any value. The

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inland post to Plymouth was dropped from 1611 to 1621. The other three — to Ireland, Dover, and Plymouth — were of slight account, for the post-horses were overloaded with the carriage of chests and boxes of travellers who pretended to journey on public business. It took months for a letter to go from Scotland to London. The postman was provided with a horn, which he had to blow four times in a mile, or "as often as he met company." He was to start at least fifteen minutes after receiving the "letter or pacquet," and he must go at least five miles an hour in winter. This exceedingly placid progress was supposed to be accelerated in the reign of Henry VIII. by this stimulating inscription upon the envelope, "Haste, post, haste! haste with all diligence! for thy life! for thy life!"

But since these letters were so uncertain and long in coming, and their transportation and delivery so costly, we may now be grateful, for it made them so highly prized that they were deemed worthy of being carefully treasured and stored.

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III

THE PURITAN HOUSEWIFE

THE life of Madam Winthrop in her English home was the usual life of active housewifery, or unvaried domesticity, of the average Englishwoman of her times. I find no entries in her letters or her husband's to show that she ever entered into what in modern phrase would be termed fashionable or society life. That phase of seventeenth-century life in England is well known to us through satire, lampoons, religious tracts, and contemporary diaries, plays, and letters; and an idle, vain, useless, restless, and unhappy life it was. The curious may read pictures of it in Jonson's The Devil is an Ass; in Rowland's A Whole Crew of Kind Gossips all Met to be Merry, and his Looke to it, for Ile Stabbe ye; in Dickinson's Greene in Conceit; in Goddard's Satirycall Dialogue or sharplye-invective Conference between Alexander the Great and that truely woman-hater Diogynes; in Humours Unmasked, and scores of

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other plays and poems. You may find it in the court records, in the printed travels of foreigners in England, in the letters of the nobility and of royal persons. It is of interest to us as a study of the times, but it was never the life of Margaret Winthrop. Her life was peaceful, retired, and useful. It was full of manifold homespun duties and cares, the charge of a household which formed a great family, in which the servants filled no mean or uncherished position. Heber, in his Life of Jeremy Taylor, has this passage:—

"In the time of our ancestors the interval between the domestics and the other members of a family was by no means so great, nor fenced with so harsh and impenetrable a barrier, as in the present days of luxury and excessive refinement. The servants of the manor-house were usually the humble friends of the master and mistress, whose playmates they had been during childhood, and under whose protection they hoped to grow old."

We learn from scores of references, of a little later date, in Pepys' Diary, how house-servants were treated in London homes almost as members of the family, joining the mistress in her cares and duties, and in her pleasures, in "musique" and in card-playing. I have seen a letter from a Mr. Mingay, in 1638, to

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Mr. Framlingham Gawdy, asking for a "staid discreet maid and well spoken and qualified and an excellent gleeker." There was neither gleek nor loo nor ombre in Margaret Winthrop's home, for we know John Winthrop's decision early in life about "carding and gaming;" but her maids were carefully cherished, as shown in her anxiety for one named Amye in sickness.

There were at least nine servants in the Winthrop household in 1616, we are told through Thomasine Winthrop's pathetic and loving admonitions to them upon her deathbed. Probably there was a much larger number at a later date, with John Winthrop's increased fortune. Among the manuscript papers of Captain Stewart is a list of Derictions for ye Maides in the House, of a manor in Suffolk not far from Groton Manor. It may well be quoted as showing the machinery and method of housekeeping in that day and in that station of life. The duties of Margaret Winthrop's maids probably varied little from the ones indicated in these "derictions."

Mondays. Look out the foule clothes, and cale the maids and sit or stay by them till they be all mended.

Tuisdays. Clene the Romes and Chers from ye

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great Rome to the nersery, and ye beads on ye Tope and botom, and dust ye feathers.

Wedensdays. Clene all the Romes Chers and beads onder and Tope with ye feathers from the nersery to ye Eyll Chamber.

Thursdays. Clene ye Hall and Parlors windows tables chears and Pictors below stairs.

Fridays. Scoure all the grats, tongs, and Hand-Irons.

Saturdays. Clene the Store house, Shelfs and Dressers.

Every-day. Once for one houre in ye fore-noone goe throught all ye Romes and see it doith not Raine into them, and dust them all downe, and swipe them.

Dery-maid. Wash yor dery every day, and for yor milke and butter doe as you will be dericted. Churne Tuisdays and Fridays. Sarve ye Swine and Pouletrey night and morning; and for the Hoges-meat any of the Servent-mens shall carry that out for you. Observe well the time for seting all sorts of yor Pouletrey; Once every weeke make yor House breed, an the same shall helpe you need it.

Cooke-maid. Washe yor Chitchen every night, and the Larders every other day, Shelfes and dressers; and scour the puter we use every friday night, and all ye Rest of ye Puter once every month. Kepe your chitchen exthrodinary clene. To helpe upon washing dayes ye reste of ye maides wash. And make all ye Maides bring downe there candell-stickes ye first thing in ye morning to be made clene."

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It will be noted that some of the details of housekeeping vary from those of to-day. The household washing was done but once a month, or once in three months. The scouring of the pewter was an important duty, and "pewter bright" was an accepted sign of a good housewife. The help of the manservant in kneading bread seems somewhat curious to-day, and the care about feathers in the bedrooms shows the universal use of feather or down beds.

We also gain from Thomas Tusser's Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, and his Book of Housewifery, a very good knowledge of life at that time in a Suffolk country-house; for Tusser wrote these books when living on an estate in Brantham, Suffolk, not far from Groton Manor. They fully corroborate the Directions to Maides. I have a curious sense of touch with Margaret Winthrop's housekeeping when I read Tusser's homely and wildly grammarless maxims, for I cannot doubt that she frequently read and constantly heeded them. I quote from them at some length, as showing from contemporary evidence and in the simplest language the daily round of domestic life in an English country-house at the close of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. We

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find many universal and wearisome home-industries, which now are obsolete; and the performance of duties similar to those which still exist was attended with many difficulties of preparation and inconveniences of execution, which in themselves proved severe labors.

The household was early awake and a-stirring.

> "In winter at five a clock, servant, arise;
> In summer at four is a very good guise."

Under the head of "Morning Works" we see that servants went to work at once before breakfasting. Indeed, breakfast was not much of a meal anywhere in old-time England.

> "Get up in the morning as soon as thou wilt,
> With over long slugging good servant is spilt.
>
> "Some work in the morning may trimly be done
> That all the day after can hardly be won.
>
> "Set some to peel hemp, or else rushes to twine,
> To spin, or to card, or to seething of brine."

The "seething of brine" was salting meat in a "powdering-tub," an important housewifely duty of the day; and the twining of rushes was a local industry. Everywhere in Suffolk there was gathered from the fens and marshes what

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was called the "Fen-folks' harvest" of rushes. These rushes are used to this day in Suffolk instead of laths in the making of ceilings, and for rush and plaster partitions. In Margaret Winthrop's day they had scores of other uses.

Then came "Breakfast Doings," though we have already learned that

"Some slovens from sleeping no sooner get up
But hand is in aumbry and nose in the cup."

"To breakfast that come
Give every one some."

But a brief stay only was permitted for eating.

"No more tittle tattle,
Go serve your cattle."

The routine of the different duties of a housewife, as then enumerated by Tusser, was: "Brewing, Baking, Cookery, Dairy, Scouring, Washing, Dinner Matters, Afternoon Works, Evening Works, Supper Matters, After-Supper Matters." The domestic brewing was evidently of value, not only as supplying the universal household drink in those tea-less and coffee-less times, but also as affording food for swine.

"Brew somewhat for thine,
Else bring up no swine."

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"In buying of drink by the firkin or pot
The tally ariseth but hog amends not.

"One bushel well brewed outlasteth some twain
And saveth both malt and expenses in vain.

"Too new is no profit, too stale is as bad
Drink, dead, or else sour, make labourer sad.

"Remember good Gill
Take pain with thy swill.

"Seeth grains in more water while grains be yet hot
And stir them in copper as porridge in pot."

Every housewife had to be skilled in the making of malt, as from it came the drink by which the whole household was nourished. Gervayse Markham says in his Instructions to a Good Housewife: "It is properly the work and care of a woman, for it is a housework. The man ought only to bring in and to provide the grain." Malt was made preferably of barley or oats. It could be, and was sometimes, made of wheat, pease, lupine, vetches, and the like; but therefrom made a drink "too fulsome" for health. The malthouse was usually a separate building. It was to be dry and tight, "with close-shuts or draw-windows to keep out storms." The barley-corns were first steeped in a "Fat" or vat or cistern, which stood within the malthouse, and should be near a pump; then

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when the couch, or outside hull of the corn, was broken, the grain was spread on an earthen floor and constantly moved and turned till it was carried to the kiln, where it was "bedded" and dried over a sharp fire; then it was ready for storage. When used to make household beer, it was rubbed, dressed, cleaned, and winnowed. About a quarter weight of malt was allowed to make three hogsheads of beer. The malt was ground, put in a vat, and mashed, or basted gradually with boiling water. Then the mash was run out into a trough, and was called a wort. A second mash made of the same malt, with more water, gave a second wort. To a quarter weight of this wort was placed a pound and a half of boiled hops, which was called barm. The barm and wort were mixed by a tedious and slow process, put into vessels to cool, then into hogsheads to ferment. This household beer would keep for months, — if it were ever permitted to keep, — but a thirsty English household did not make very long work of a hogshead of beer. The minute directions for the construction of the malt-house, of the drying-floor, the kilns, the mash-tubs, show what an important duty beer-making was at that time.

The bread-baking was evidently an affair of

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much importance also, and was set apart from the other cooking.

"New bread is a drivel,
Much crust is as evil.

"Much dough-backe I praise not, much crust is as ill.
The mean is the housewife; say nay if ye will."

John Taylor, the "Water-Poet," names the various breads of the day as made of "wheat, rie, mescellin, beanes, pulse, or rootes." He calls it either "dough-baked, baked dough, or burnt in the oven; leavened and unleavened; with yeast, barme or rising; white, wheaten, raunged or browne." The varieties of bread were various, — loaf, roll, cake, bun, wig, manchet, ruske, bannock, jannock, symnell, bread-pye, or cheat-bread. Three kinds of bread were always made in any household of dignity, — one for the family; one for the servants, which meant the house-servants; one (usually raunged bread) for the "hinds" or farm-workers. The "cookery" was in charge of cook and turnspit.

"Good cookery craveth,
Good turn-broche saveth.

"Good cook to dress dinner, to bake and to brew
Deserves a reward, being honest and true.

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"Good diligent turnbroche, and trusty withal
Is sometimes as needful as some in the hall."

The real charge and responsibility of the cooking came upon the mistress of the manor. Gervayse Markham names skill in cookery "together with all the Secretts thereto" as the "most important of Outward and active knowledges." He says the good cook must "have a quick eye, a curious nose, a perfect taste, a ready ear. She must not be butter-fingered, sweet-toothed nor faint-hearted." He gives scores of receipts for cooking, receipts fearfully and wonderfully made. Family cooking was far more complicated in that day than this. It was all highly spiced. Sometimes a score of herbs and spices flavored what was in intent a simple dish. Even in Saxon times spices were treasures like gold. It is a significant fact that the first English voyage under the East India Company in 1603 returned a cargo of cloves, pepper, cinnamon, and calicoes. We can never read in a list of household accounts or cooking receipts of that day, even of so simple a dish as a roast of mutton, without finding parsley, cloves, endive, succory, strawberry-leaves, violets, "scallions," "sause and soppes," — the latter often of sorrel, — as accompaniments of the roast. Often cinnamon, mace, and even musk, are

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also named. Perfumes were a constant, but to us an uninviting accompaniment of sauces. The methods of transporting and preserving fish and flesh were very inferior, very crude; hence the meat often needed the disguise of spices, and possibly of perfumes, if it were to be at all palatable. "Piquant sauce" was a universal favorite of our forefathers, and a common ingredient of all sauces was saffron. This was largely grown throughout Suffolk. I will not attempt to give any detailed explanation of the manner of cooking, nor of the supplies of the larder in the Winthrop household. I know Madam Winthrop was a good "provider," from the frequent and bountiful country provender, such as "a cupple of cappons," "turkies, syder," puddings, and cheese, which she sent to her husband in London; but I fear Winthrop was not a very valiant trencherman. Early in life, in 1612, he wrote: —

> "ffinding that the variety of meates drawes me on to eate more than standeth with my healthe, I have resolved not to eat more than 2 dishes at any one meale, whether fish flesh fowle or fruit or whittmeats etc; whether at home or abroad the Lorde give me care and abilitie to perform it.

This was a resolve typical of the temperance of his nature, and he persevered in his determination. He wrote in 1617: —

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"I doe finde by experience of some good tyme, that a spare diet and abstinence from worldly delights is a great meanes of keepinge both bodye and mind fitt and lively to holye duties; I was wont when I supped liberally, that I was sleepye and unwieldye in my family exercises; and nowe when I eate but little and that ordinarily but bread and beere, I am cheerful and unweariable in them."

The dairy-maid, Tusser says, was a droy, — a droil or drudge, whose labors seemed unending, but whose work was important, especially in Suffolk, the county of milk and cheese.

"Good huswife in dairy that needs not be told
Deserveth her fee to be paid her in gold.

"Good droy to serve hog, to help wash and to milk
More needful is truly than some in their silk."

We gain also this good advice, —

"Though cat (a good mouser) doth dwell in the house
Yet ever in dairy have trap for a mouse.

"Take heed how thou layest the bane for the rats
For poisoning of servant, thyself and thy brats."

The old English word brats was not then a term of contempt. We read in Gascoigne's De Profundis: "O, household of the Lord! O, Abraham's brats! O brood of blessed seed!"

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I have often seen "Jron mowse snappys" in old-time inventories, showing that the injunction to use mouse-traps was heeded.

The household scouring was a matter, we have seen, of much weight.

"Though scouring be needful, yet scouring too much
Is pride without profit and robbeth thine hutch.

"Keep kettles from knocks, set tubs out of sun
For mending is costly and crackt is soon done."

The great washing-time was also a thieving-time, and warning was accordingly in detail given, to look out for picking and stealing, beginning with the familiar lines, —

"Dry sun, dry wind,
Safe bind, safe find."

When a month's, or possibly three months' freshly washed clothes were spread to dry and bleach in the yards or on the hedges, it was certainly a great temptation to rogues. From The Fraternitye of Vagabonds I learn that a special name was given at that time to a thief who stole the wash; he was a "Prygman," and this form of thievery was everywhere called "storeing the rogeman."

When Madam Winthrop ordered the monthly laundering for the Winthrop household, it was not the comparatively simple affair which

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a similar function would be to-day. The water had all to be carried by hand and heated in kettles. The soap had doubtless been made, with tedious exhaustion, in the home, by a trying process of leaching wood ashes and boiling the lye with household grease. Bristol soap, a coarse brown soap, was the popular soap in market, but it was high-priced. Various substitutes were used for washing household linen, mud and ashes being the most cleanly. The starch, except the small amount purchased in London, had been prepared from wheat by a laborious and tiresome process of soaking. The various modern machines for reducing the labors of the process were all unknown; the utensils would seem to us scanty and few.

In "dinner matters" the directions are plain: —

> "By noon see your dinner be ready and neat.
> Poor seggons, half starved, work faintly and dull
> And lubbers do loiter their bellies too full."
>
> "Three dishes well dressed and welcome withal
> Both pleaseth thy friend and becometh thy hall."

In the afternoon, after the servants are set to work, and the dinner is cleared, the list of the housekeeper's work is most interesting. It shows the many petty household economies.

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"Who many do feed
Save much they had need.

"Piece hole to defend
Things timely amend.

"Good sempsters be sewing of pretty fine knacks,
Good housewives be mending and piecing their sacks.

"Buy new as is meet,
Mark blanket and sheet.

"Though ladies may rend and buy new every day,
Good housewives must mend and buy new as they may.

"Call quarterly servants to court and to leet;
Write every coverlet, blanket and sheet.

"Save feathers for guest;
These other rob chest.

"Save wing for a thresher when gander doth die,
Save feathers of all things, the softer to lie.

"Much spice is a thief, so is candle and fier;
Sweet sauce is as crafty as ever was friar."

To our own day did these economical and industrious customs linger. The feathers were saved for beds, the gander's wing for a thresher or duster. The good housewife in the afternoon mended and marked her linen. As evening lowered,

"See cattle well served without and within
And all things at quiet ere supper begin."

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To save steps, each incoming servant was instructed to fetch in wood or a log for the chimney hearth, and to leave no clothes in the garden. The maid was to wash the dishes, "lay the leavens," — which was to set the yeast, — "save" the fire, lock doors and to bed. Truly a well-filled, decent, homely life.

Of course the round of seasons brought other and temporary cares. The garden was ever the Englishwoman's delight.

"In March and in April, from morning to night
In sowing and setting good huswives delight;
To have in a garden or other like plot
To trim up their house and to furnish their pot.

"The nature of flowers dame Physic doth show,
She teacheth them all to be known to a few.
To set or to sow, or else sown to remove,
How that should be practised learn if ye love.

"If field to bear corn a good tillage doth crave
What think ye of garden that garden would have?
Oft digging, removing and weeding ye see
Makes herb the more wholesome and greater to be.

"Cut all things or gather, the moon in the wane,
But sow in encreasing, or give it his bane.
Who soweth too lateward hath seldom good seed;
Who soweth too soon, little better shall speed."

To have any competent knowledge of cookery, the first step was to "learne knowledge of the herbs of the kitchen." The house mis-

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tress had to know the time of the year, of the month, and of the moon in which herbs were to be sown; also in which they were to be gathered. For instance, in March, at the time of the new moon, she was to sow garlick, borage, buglos, "chervrile," coriander, gourds, marjoram, white poppy, purslane, radishes, "borrel," double marigolds, thyme, and violets. At the time of full moon, anise seed, beets, "skirrits" or carrots, succory, fennel, apples of love, "marvellous apples." At the wane of the moon, artichokes, basil, blessed-thistle, cole cabbage, white cole, green cole, citrons, cucumbers, harts-horn, samphire, spinach, gillyflowers, hyssop, cabbage, lettuce, melons, "mugret" or mugwort, onions, flower-gentil, burnet, leeks, and savory. If these lunar and various thaumaturgical signs were disregarded, she could hope neither for good plants, good crops, nor good results from their use. May brought other sowing, — "fimble" was light, summer hemp; "carl" was a hemp full of seed, —

> "Good flax and good hemp to have of her own
> In May a good huswife will see it be sown,
> And afterwards trim it to serve at a need,
> The fimble to spin, the carl for her seed."

In July the hemp was ripe.

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"Wife pluck from thy seed hemp the fimble hemp clean.
This looketh more yellow, the other more green.

"Use th' one for thy spinning, leave Michell th' other
For shoe thread and hatter, for rope and such other.

"Now pluck up thy flax for the maidens to spin,
But first see it dried and trimly got in."

This is a very curt way of disposing of a very complicate matter; for perhaps the most tedious domestic duty which Margaret Winthrop had to perform, or, at any rate, to superintend, was the evolution of the household linen. I give the methods of her day and county as I have learned them from contemporary writings. They prevailed with slight modifications until this century in both England and America.

About "Mary Maudlins Day" the flax and hemp were ripe, were ready to be gathered. The plants were not cut off, but were pulled up by the roots and laid flat a day and a night, spread out on the ground. The stalks were then tied up in bundles, which were called "baits" or "bates," — universally so called in the seventeenth century, though that use of the word is not found in our modern dictionaries. These baits were stacked upright till the time came to water the flax or hemp. This was done preferably in running water,

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as the rotting flax was very offensive, and poisoned fish. Stakes were set in the water in the form of a square, and the baits of flax or hemp were filled in solidly between them, each alternate layer laid at right angles with the one beneath it, and at the top a cover of boards, weighted with heavy stones, kept the flax absolutely immovable beneath the water. After about four days and four nights, the baits of flax were taken out of the water, and all the rotted leaves and filth were removed; and they were then set upright in the sun by the side of the house, the fence, or wall, to dry thoroughly. Before watering, "carl" flax usually went through an extra amount of drying, and a process called "rippling," to remove the seed. A "ripple comb" was drawn over the baits to break off the round seed vessels, — "bobs," as they were called.

A brake of wood was then applied with violent blows to separate the woody part from the fibres, to take out the "hexe from the rind." This was done twice, once with an "open wide tooth or mixt brake," then with a "close and strait brake." This had to be done in clear sunny weather, for the flax had to be "dry as tinder," else it would not break well. The fibres were then made into large bundles, which were no longer called baits,

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but "strikes." Chaucer says, "Down it hung like a strike of flax." The flax usually went through the process of breaking twice. These strikes then were swingled and scraped with a wooden swingling-knife, dagger-shaped, to get out thoroughly the hard "bun" in the centre. The refuse was beaten a second time, and from it was gathered what was called "swingle-tree hurds," from which very coarse cloth like bagging could be spun and woven; or, if it were carded through coarse wool-cards, what were termed "harden" sheets could be made of it. If the flax was then to be sold, this single swingling was all the farm household did; but if it were to be spun at home, it went through a second swingling, and the refuse of this process was called "hempen hurding," or "flax hurding."

These carefully swingled strikes were then bunched up in great rolls, with a broach or spit thrust through them, and set in a chimney corner again to dry thoroughly. The flax was then ready to be beetled. The roll was placed in a wooden trough and pounded with a heavy pestle-shaped beetle till soft, then the roll was opened and laboriously beaten again. Then came the heckling or hatcheling, — a dusty, dirty, wearing work. The heckle was a comb-like instrument which

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cleaned and straightened the fibres. This heckling was done thrice, — first with a coarse wide-toothed comb, then with finer ones. The hurds or refuse of this process was also carefully saved and spun. The flax could now be spun into thread or linen yarn by rock or wheel. By the former, which was the old classic distaff, a finer thread could be made; the latter was swifter. From the spindles or spools the thread was reeled off upon reels two feet long; then made into skeins or lays of eighty threads, and twenty of these lays were called a knot or slipping. It would seem as if the housewife had already spent all the time and labor on her flax that could be endured, but worse was to come. These slippings of thread were laid in warm water for four days, the water being changed each day, and the slippings wrung out carefully and frequently by hand; then finally they were washed in the brook till the water which was passed from them came perfectly clean and pure. Then came the bucking, so called from the bucking-tub in which it was done. A layer of wood ashes was placed in the bottom of this great tub; then a layer of slippings of thread; then more ashes, and so on to the top, where it was covered with a cloth. A peck or two of ashes was placed thereon, and water

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poured over it. In this lye the slippings ay all night. In the morning came the exhausting process known as "driving a buck of yarn." The linen yarn was for four hours basted with hot lye, and wrung out as hot as possible, put in fresh lye and beaten, and so over and over again. Then it was kneaded by hand "a pretty while." For a week thereafter it lay in water which was constantly changed. Then came a grand seething, beating, rinsing, washing, and drying, when, being deemed thoroughly scoured and whitened, the slippings were wound in round balls and were ready for weaving. There were other and a trifle less tedious processes of bleaching the yarn, — one with bran and warm water, another with osier-sticks, — but they were deemed rather shiftless methods.

The linen thread was often woven into linen cloth away from home at a weaver's; but wherever the web was made, it was not even then deemed finished. It seems almost too much to know that it went again through the process of bucking, "possing," and drying. Then loops were sewed on the selvedge edges, stakes were driven in the turf, and the web was spread between them, drawn tightly in the sun for weeks. It had to be kept slightly wet all this time, but not too wet, lest it mildew.

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Thus months were occupied in these exhausting processes. Sometimes the linen was "bucked" and "belted" twenty times during its manufacture before it was purely white. It is really with a keen sense of relief that we read that sometimes "swort housewives" bucked the web with lye and green hemlock, which was a much more speedy method; but, alas, this was deemed highly discreditable, being "foul and uncertain."

The fleeces of wool from the sheep, which were raised on every farm in Suffolk, added to the goodwife's hours of weariness. When the farmer gave the domestic share of the yearly wool to her, she opened each fleece with care, cut away all the coarse locks, pitch, brands, tarred locks, and "other feltrings." These were not wasted, but were spun into yarn for coarse coverlids. She then tossed and separated the better locks, laying carefully out the pure white, and, separating the others into proper portions, placed them in net bags with tallies showing the color each bag was to be dyed. When she had dyed the wool (a most important process), she spread the various colored wools in layers to make a mixed color, then rolled all the layers up together, and combed and carded it till the colors were thoroughly mixed. Then she

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greased it with rape-oil or melted "swines-grease," rubbing the warm grease in slowly. This was an exceedingly trying process, requiring much judgment. Then the greased wool was carded all over again, sometimes three times. An old author says the "actions of spinning must be learned by practice not by relation;" so I will not attempt to explain the spinning on a great wheel of this wool into yarn, which, after being wound into round "clews," had still to be woven, washed, dressed, fulled, and sheared, and then clothed with homespun the household.

Tusser did not forget the methods of provision for household illumination; he did not fail to enjoin candle-making, —

> "Wife make thine own candle
> Spare penny to handle.
>
> "Provide for thy tallow ere frost cometh in,
> And make thine own candle ere winter begin."

To all seventeenth and eighteenth century housewives the candle-dipping was a great autumnal household duty, and it was a tedious and monotonous one. I know very well how Margaret Winthrop thriftily prepared her winter's stock of candles, as well as if I had seen her do it. An early morning hour had found the preparations all carefully made, and

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the work well under way. A roaring fire in the great fireplace was under two great kettles, hung on trammels from the lug-pole, and filled with water and with melted tallow, which had been gathered with pains from the slaughtered farm-animals of the manor. At the end of the great kitchen, or in an adjoining and cooler room, long poles were extended from form to form or from stool to stool. Across these poles were laid at regular intervals, like the rounds of a ladder, shorter candle-rods. To each candle-rod was attached a dozen or so candle-wicks, of loosely spun tow, sometimes dipped in saltpetre. The carefully straightened wicks were dipped time after time into the melted tallow, and grew so slowly that the process seemed never-ending. The tallow was constantly replenished, the kettle swung off and used until the tallow was too cool, when it was again melted; and so on through the tedious day. It was a matter of much pride to each housewife to have a plentiful stock of symmetrical white candles; and wax candles were made in moulds. The keeping of bees, which was so universal, was evidently quite as much for the purpose of obtaining wax for candles, as for the succulent honey which was such a universal sweetening when "loaves of sugar" were high-

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priced, far from common, and looked upon as a form of spice.

Candles could, of course, be bought, but they cost fourpence apiece, and chandlers had already learned to cheat in their manufacture. Stubbes, in his Anatomy of Abuses, complains of their false weights and measures, and of the poor kitchen stuff used in the manufacture of candles. He says of these poor candles, —

"They waste and consume away like unto ware against the fire and shall never become cleere nor give good light, but run over and about the candlesticke too shamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are of hurds, rope end & such other stuffe. Besides all this they have sleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine soft, to the end that it may waste and consume the faster, with legions of like divises. God be merciful unto us!"

I cannot think that Mistress Winthrop bought candles of the tallow-chandlers.

Turning again to Tusser's quaint instructions in housewifery, we learn that by August harvest seeds were ripe.

"Maids mustard seed gather, fore being too ripe
And mather it well ere ye give it a stripe.
Then dress it and lay it in soller up sweet
Lest foistness make it for table unmeet.

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"Good huswifes in summer will save their own seeds
Against the next year as occasion needs.
One seed for another to make an exchange
With fellowly neighborhood seemeth not strange."

In the fall, strawberry, gooseberry, and raspberry plants were to be set out. Wormwood was to be gathered in large amounts, to be used to drive out fleas. Eels were stewed and pickled for Lent, and even in Puritan households were carefully stored. The English of that day were great fish-eaters. After harvest was well in, the squire or farmer rode to seashore or market-town to bring home (or order to be brought) ling salt-fish and herring for winter use. Fish was bought in such quantities that it was stacked up by the housewife with peàse straw till used. Then there were feasts of the ploughmen to be provided for, — Plough Monday after Twelfth-tide; Shrove-tide, with fritters and pancakes; sheep-shearing, when

"Wife, make us a dinner, spare flesh, neither corn.
Make wafers and cake, for our sheep must be shorn."

Then came the plentiful harvest home, when each laborer had a fat goose. At the end of wheat-sowing the housewife still had to provide for another festival, making for it special hocky-cakes, — "seed cakes, pasties, and furmenty pot."

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In Suffolk and Essex there were, of course, specially wearisome days when the hop-harvest was ripe, for the hop-gatherers had to be housed and fed. As early as 1596 the Perfite Platform of a Hop Garden was published, and hops were even at that date an important farm product.

The goodwife's duties did not end with the last of the accumulative harvests; she still had to provide "good huswifely physick."

> "Good huswives provide ere an sickness do come
> Of sundry good things in her house to have some.
> Good aqua composita, vinegar tart,
> Rosewater and treacle to comfort the heart.
> Conserve of the barberry, quinces and such.
> With sirops that easeth the sickly so much.
> Ask Medicus counsel ere medicine ye make,
> And honor that man for necessity's sake."

The duties of the still-room, the making of scores of medicinal waters, of conserves, preserves, and dried and candied fruits, were the pride of a seventeenth-century housekeeper. We constantly find references to these duties. This list was given of plants which should be distilled by every notable housewife: "Roses, borage, femingtory, brakes, columbynes, okeyn-leafes, hartes-tongue, draggons, parcely, balme, walnut-leefes, long-de-beef, prymer-roses, saige, sorrel, red-mynt, betany

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cowslops, dandelyon, fennel, scabies, elder-flowers, mary-golds, wilde-tansey, wormwode, woodebinde, endyffe, and hourse." As some of these had to be gathered just before sunrise, and some at midnight, we can see that the cares of the still-room left few idle moments for the "compleat houswife."

A picture of the duties of a Puritan wife in her manor-house is given in the memoir of Ambrose Barnes: —

"Of her daughters she was a most prudent governess, keeping them at their needles after they had left the boarding-school. She put them in mind of the tortoise, the emblem of a woman who should be a keeper at home, as the tortoise seldom peeps out of its shell. She directed them in their carriage abroad, that visits were not to be made with too much freedom nor too much frequency, which would be the best way to keep up friendship. Her servants she would also have her eye upon, and let them know with an honorable woman we read of that the sermons they heard on Lords Dayes were not over, though church-time was over, until they were put in practice. Besides the pills, electuaries, conserves, candies, sirrips, and many distillations she made use of in her family, she kept a closet of receipts for salves, ointments, powders, and diet drinks, which she sent to the poor, sometimes visiting them herself, sometimes sending to see how they did, and taking care in their sickness that they were clean kept."

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This account would indicate that the daughters of the manor were educated even at that day in boarding-schools, but we know little of these schools.

Mr. Shirley found an interesting bill of one young lady's school expenses in 1646 at a Richmond school. It reads thus: —

"An account for Peggy's Disbursements since her going to Schoole at Richmond, being in Sept. 1646.

	s.	*d.*
Payd for a lovehood,	2	6
For cariing the truncke to Queenhithe,		8
For cariing it to Hammersmith,	1	
Payd for 2 pair of shoes,	4	
Payd for a singing-booke,	1	
Given to Mrs Jervoises maid,	1	
Payd for a hairlace and a pair of show-strings,	1	
For an inckhorne,	0	4
For faggots 2s. 8d., and cleaving of wood, 12d.	3	8
For 9 li. of soape, 2s. 4d., and starch, 4d.	2	8
For hookes and a bolt for the door,		9
For sugar and licorish,	1	4
For silke and thread,		6
For 3 li. of soape, 11d., and starch 4d., & carrying letters, 6d.	1	9
For 3 li. of soape 12d., and starch 4d.	1	4
For sugar, licorish, and coults foot,	1	6

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	s.	*d.*
For a necklace 12d., for a m of pins, 12d.	2	
For a pair of cands 6d., for muckadine 4d. for womsend 2d.	1	
For show strings 6d., for going on errands 6d.	1	
For 3 li. of soape 12d., for starch 4d., for thread and silk, 4d.	1	8
For a bason 4d., for carrying letters 6d. for tape 4d.	1	2
For soap 12d., for starch 4d., for going on errands, 6d.	1	10
For a pattins 1s. 6d., for three pair of shoes 6s.	7	4
For callico to line her stockins 2d., for showstrings 4d.	0	6
For 3 li. of soape 12d., for a pint of white wine 4d.	1	4
For ale 3d., for ½ li. of sugar 8d.		11
For a m of pins 12d., for a corle and one pair of half-handed gloves 8d.	1	8
Given to the Writing mr,	2	8
For silver for the toothpick case,	1	6
For silke 12d., for a toothpick case 4d.	1	4
For a Sampler 12d., for thread, needles, paper pins and parchment 30d.	3	6
For a pair of shoes 2s. 2d., for ribbon 3d.	2	5
For soape 19d., for starch 4d., for cariing letter 4d.	1	8
To the waterman bringing the box to Richmond,	1	

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	s.	*d.*
For shoestrings 6d., for a purge 18d.,	2	
For a coach from Fleete Streete	1	
For wood to this time	15	10
Totall disbursements to this 15th day of Aprill 1647 is	£3. 18*s.*	5*d.*

Opinions as to the intellectual results of this form of education, notions of the intelligence and culture of the women of that day differ widely.

In the famous third chapter of Macaulay's History of England is a sentence upon the lives of the ladies in English manors at the end of the reign of Charles II., about the year 1685. It is often quoted, but most incorrectly, as showing the life of the wives of the Puritan and Pilgrim colonists before emigration. That half-century since 1620 had been a long time in the history of England, and there had been vast improvement in many social conditions. Still I cannot see that the intellectual status of women was much lower, as Macaulay thinks, except in the court. Macaulay says, "The literary stores of the lady of the manor and of her daughters generally consisted of a prayer-book and a receipt-book." I know that Puritan households then, and for nearly a century previous,

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always contained a Bible, and usually many of the tedious religious books of the period, and that these books were studied and quoted by the women readers. When Rev. Thomas Morse died in Foxearth, Essex County, England, he bequeathed "unto my eight youngest children Eight Bybles every one of them a Byble to be provyded at the cost of my eldest sonne upon wch Condic$\tilde{o}$n I give him all my bookes in my Studdye." This entry is cited as an example of scores of other wills similar in wording, by which it may be plainly seen that each daughter of the Puritans certainly owned a Bible.

Philip Stubbes, the Puritan, wrote of his wife: —

"Her whole delight was to be conversant with the Scriptures and to meditate on them day and night; insomuch that you could seldome or never have found her without a Bible or some other good book in her hand, and when she was not reading, she would spend her time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the word of God."

Macaulay makes another misleading declaration of seventeenth-century English women. He says: —

"Ladies highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick witted, were unable to write a line of

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their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit."

This sentence, while true in detail from a modern point of view, shows a singularly limited perception, indeed a very erroneous conception, of the orthographical methods of that day. These women spelt exactly as well, and as badly, as did their husbands and fathers, as did commoners and nobles, as did the kings. Macaulay cites, as an example of feminine illiteracy, Queen Mary's spelling "crownation." As a triumph of ingenious and riotous cacography, the letters of James I. are a far more shining example: "rewlis" for "rules," "ansourdes" for "answered," "straingeris" and "vertuouse" are some specimens. In this misspelling I do not place his Scotch forms quhich, quhat, quhille, quhen, instead of which, what, etc. Though King James spelt "as a charity girl would now be ashamed to do," his worst detractor could not upon that count call him either ignorant or illiterate. Spelling seems to have been fixed by no definite laws. In a single sentence an educated man would spell the same word in as many different ways as he could readily devise. An inspection of a copy of Paradise Lost, printed in 1668, reveals many vagaries and

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country and in the colonies to restrict dress by sumptuary laws, in order that distinctions of social standing might be still more definitive and evident; but these were scarce more than attempts. As laws they were but little heeded. The references in Margaret Winthrop's correspondence, both in her own writings and in letters written to her, to the attire either of her family or herself, are but few, — too few to give scarce a hint even of what she or they wore. Curiously enough, the most extended though not particular reference to dress is in one of the long love-letters which still exist, which were written by John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop shortly before their marriage. As might be expected, it firmly counsels simplicity of attire. The paragraph runs thus: —

"Nowe my deare hearte let me parlye a little with thee about trifles, for when I am present with thee, my speeche is preiudiced by thy presence which drawes my mind from itselfe; I suppose now, upon thy unkles cominge there wilbe advisinge & counsellinge of all hands; and amongst many I know there wilbe some, that wilbe provokinge thee, in these indifferent things, as matter of apparell, fashions and other circumstances, rather to give contente to their vaine minds savouringe too muche of the fleshe &c then to be

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grotesqueries of spelling. The various collections of letters, published by the Camden and Surtees Societies, abound in orthographical surprises. It was not because women were uneducated that they spelt irregularly, but because there was then no bad spelling. Any form of a word, which did not vary too widely from the more frequent spelling, would pass and not indicate illiteracy. The letters of Anne and Mary and Margaret and Elizabeth Winthrop are just as well spelled as those of either of the John Winthrops, and surpass those of Adam, John Winthrop's son. The letters of Lucy Downing, a sister of John Winthrop, would compare very favorably with the letters of any literate man of her day.

We could not know all of this Puritan housewife unless we knew what manner of garments she wore. I have noted in nearly all the letters that I have seen which were written by women two centuries ago, how few and how slight are the allusions contained therein to dress. Yet to both colonist and Englishman of that day, dress was a matter of much importance, and even dignity. A regard for dress was then, as now, an indication of due respect for the proprieties of life; and it was then also a symbol of social distinction. Attempts were made in the mother

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guided by the rule of Gods worde wch must be the light and the Rule; for allthoughe I doe easyly grant that the Kingdome of heaven is not meat & drinke apparell &c but Righteousnesse peace &c; yet being forbidden to fashion ourselves like unto this worlde and to avoid not onely evill but all appearance of it must be avoyded, and allso what soever may breed offence to the weake (for which I praye thee reade for thy direction the XIII 5th to the Rom;) and for that Christians are rather to seek to edifie than to please, I hould it a rule of Christian wisdome in all things to follow the soberest examples; I confesse that there be some ornaments which for Virgins and Knights Daughters &c may be comly and tollerable wch yet in soe great a change as thine is, may well admitt a change allso; I will medle with noe particulars neither doe I thinke it shall be needfull; thine own wisdome and godlinesse shall teach thee sufficiently what to doe in such things, and the good assurance wch I have of thy unfained love towards me makes me perswaded that thou wilt have care of my contentment seeing it must be a chiefe staye to thy comfort; and with all the greate and sincere desire wch I have that there might be no discouragement to daunt the edge of my affections, whyle they are truly labouring to settle and repose themselves in thee, makes mee thus watchfull & iealous of the least occasion that Sathan might stir up to our discomfort. He that is faithfull in the least wilbe faithfull in the greatest, but I am too fearfull I doe thee wronge. I know thou wilt not

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grieve me for trifles. Let me intreate thee (my sweet Love) to take all in good part."

This letter was certainly most discouraging to "unkle and all hands," who were thinking of or planning for any elaborate "setting out" of bridal bravery; and I think it is safe to believe that this "Virgin and Knights Daughter," who so truly loved her suitor, made her "great change," and came to the home of her sober-minded husband in appropriately sober, though comely and tolerable garments.

In these lines John Winthrop follows the same line of thought that we find in a contemporary book of instructions to a good English housewife. The author begs his readers to dress "without garish garnishes or the gloss of light colours; and as far from the vanitye of new and fantastick fashions, as neer to the comely imitation of modest matrons."

The meagre references to dress in other Winthrop letters are vague and general.

"I send thee stockens starch silke and other things."

"Your mother desires your A. Fones to buye her 4 oz. more of the black worsted she sent her before. We want white starche."

"I pray buy me a pair of stirrup stockens the warmest you can get."

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"For the stuff for the gowns you may buy it of some olive color or such like. Either let them be several colors or else the velvet for the capes of several colors."

"I will remember M. her gown and petticoat and the childrens girdles."

"I send two pieces of Lockerum; cloth for a cloke and sute for Forth & for a night gowne for thyselfe. Lett me know what trimming I shall send for thy gowne."

To this last query Margaret Winthrop answered in a thoroughly feminine postscript to her next letter, —

"I have not yet received the things you sent; when I see the cloth I will send word what trimming will serve."

It should be remembered that a night gown in those days was not a garment worn during sleep; that was a night rail. A night gown was a handsome dressing-gown, so the trimming for it was a matter of some importance. "My sister would have her cloke and faurgard sent up." A woman editor would have known that this should not have been printed "faurgard," but "savegard;" the long *s* and *u* for *v*, aided by masculine ignorance of feminine dress, causing this natural error. A "savegard" was a universal article of woman's attire in that day when travel was so largely on

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horseback. Its name was significant of its use. It was an over petticoat of stout stuff, worn by women to protect the skirt of the gown from mud and wet when the wearer was riding. In the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth had thirty-one cloaks and safeguards, forty-three jupes and safeguards, and thirteen single safeguards. The name was used in England till this century. The garment is still worn there by farmers' wives. Safeguards are often named in New England inventories.

Mr. Smith was evidently the London tailor who fashioned gowns and coats and breeches for the Winthrop family. Madam Winthrop writes, "I must of necessity make me a gown to wear every day and would have one bought me of good strong black stuff, and Mr Smith to make it of the civilest fashion now in use. If my sister Downing would please to give him some directions about it he would make it the better." He also made gowns for Mary Winthrop, and even in 1642 we find Margaret writing from Boston to London about a "box of aparel" sent her, and of Mr. Smith's bill therefor.

His full name was John Smith, and he was doubtless a good Puritan, for a letter written by him in 1636 to John Winthrop in New England abounds in religious expression. He

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must have been upon somewhat intimate terms with the Winthrop family, for he thus begins his letter: "To my verie much respected good friend Mr Winthrope the elder in New Ingland these deliver." He said, —

"Good Mr Winthrope, — I have by Mr Downings direction sent you a coate, a sad foulding coler without lace. For the fittness I am a little vncertyne, but if it be two big or two little it is esie to amend, vnder the arme to take in or let out lyning; the outside may be let out in the gathering, or taken in also without any prejudice. I have also sent to Mrs Elizabeth Foanes, for I know not her name now, a pr of sizers and half a hundred nedles for a small token, and also the like to Mrs Elizabeth Winthrope and to Mrs Marie Downing and her sister. I intreat you to let them be delivered."

These tokens were really not a mean gift, for needles and pins were at that day much prized. Though we have thus no evidence from the Winthrop correspondence of the garments worn by the Governor's wife, we have other means of knowing the modes of the day; and we know she wished "the civilest fashion then in use," albeit of sober color and cut. The inventories of the garments of her contemporaries still exist to show what her neighbors wore. Her own could not much differ.

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I think I may, with propriety and pertinency, insert here a letter written in 1622 by Winthrop's fellow-barrister in Lincoln's Inn to his wife in the country. It shows that all husbands at that day did not regard their wives' attire as did John Winthrop. I give Serjeant Earle's letter to Mrs. Earle, as it throws a clear light upon the dress of English women in that station of life in that day.

"My most deere and my most loveing Wife,

"I have according to thy desire sent the stuffe to make thee a dublett of. It is the fittest to suite with thy gowne that I could finde. It is of two pieces but yor taylor tould me it was not anything the worse, for otherwise I might have hadd it all one peece and that as cheepe as this coost me. But yor taylor said this was so fitt for your use as if it had been all one peece. I have likewise sent you silver and silver lace to lace it with; my brother Elwyn cann tell you howe it must be layde on. I thinke if you cann gett yor dublett to be well mayd and yor gowne well mended that then it will be a very good suite. Lett yor taylor see yor red bayes gowne and dublett and make yor blue bayes gowne and dublett by them. I think it beste you have this gowne plaited on the backe like to you redd gowne. I thinke there is too much stuffe for yor dublett for the shortest peece is long enough for a sleeve. You may therefore see it cutt out yor selfe. I thinke likewise there is too much lace for yor dublett if you make it without skyrtes.

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I have likewise sent you two yardes of Cambrick to make me a ruff of. And as for yor lace for a dressinge I prythee send me worde whether thou wilt have of the same that my brother Elwyn hath bought for his wife and howe muche thereof will serve thee. I thinke he hath bought too little yett he sayth his wife willed him to buye no more. . . . I have written unto my father to deliver unto thee forti and five shillings wch is due unto me from him for this laste halfe yeares rent ended at Michelmas now past. If thou hast any use of it thou mayest imploye it as thou thinkest fittest, otherwise thou mayst send it upp to London unto mee with money wch my brother Elwyn is to send me. Thus my dearest wife I have troubled thee with a longe and tedious letter, and I desire that thou shouldst furnish me in the like manner."

It is scarcely the place, in a life of Margaret Winthrop, to express any sympathy for Frances Earle, but I am sure that no nineteenth-century wife would care to have a husband of precisely Serjeant Earle's ilk; and if he thus frequently "intermeddled" in his wife's bravery, his absence through his residence in chambers in London can scarce have proved an unmitigated trial. All will, I think, acknowledge that John Winthrop's marital character shines in contrast.

The exact fashion of Margaret Winthrop's dress can be determined through comparisons

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of representations from various sources. The one which has been to me extremely valuable is the one in perhaps the coarsest form, the prints from old ballads and tracts of the time of James I., especially those in the Roxburghe Society.

The ladies of the court in the time of James I. wore rich lace caps, somewhat of the shape commonly seen in the portraits of Mary Queen of Scots; broad necklaces with pendants; flaring ruffs, which were not so extended as those of Elizabeth's reign; wheel farthingales; and a gown with low-necked, tightly laced body, with skirts richly trimmed down the front and round the bottom. The portrait of the infamous Countess of Essex gives a good example of this costume. By the reign of Charles I. was seen on all the court ladies an elegant and becoming costume, which has been immortalized by the genius of Vandyck, and is thus too well known to need description here. Among Puritan women simpler fashions prevailed. The body was tightly encased in a stiff, long-waisted bodice or waistcoat; for the short-waisted gown, seen in some of our modern popular representations of the Puritans and Pilgrims, was wholly unknown at that time, and the presentments of both men and women of any social standing display well-

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tightened waists (that of Sir Walter Raleigh might be the envy of a modern belle).

The skirt of the gown was plain and not very full. The ruff was displaced by a plain collar or deep band, or a crossed kerchief often trimmed with lace. The sleeves of the gown are usually a little fulled, but tight at the wrist, and sometimes drawn in around the elbow with knots of ribbon. Occasionally a long hanging-sleeve is seen in addition. The head was covered with a large coif or the silk hood with loose front, which was worn for so many years. Over it was sometimes worn a straight-brimmed hat similar to the head-covering of the Puritan husband. Often an apron completed the dress. A fine example of this attire may be seen in Little Warley Church in Essex County, England, on the recumbent effigy of Dorothy Strutt, who died in 1641. The monumental effigy of Elizabeth Sacheverel shows a similar and still plainer dress. Hollar, in his Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus, bearing date 1645, gives with fidelity and care the costume of the woman Puritan, which was always simple and dignified, though not graceful or very becoming. It was often of rich material, but was usually sad-colored, and never so ornate as the court dress, though it varied as did the dress of the men. For in-

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stance, it scarcely seems possible to term John Winthrop and Cromwell "Round-heads," when we see their flowing locks, or Mr. Hampden with his beautiful curls. There is no doubt, as the times grew more distracted, and men's minds were deep-bent on statecraft and war rather than on the forms of religion, that the exact fashion and formal cut of dress became of less importance, though, with the Puritan, plainness was ever paramount.

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IV

CONCLUSIONS FOR NEW ENGLAND

DURING the year 1629 there were passing from hand to hand among English Puritans copies of a little tract, the authorship of which has been variously attributed. No one can read it without feeling, to use Taine's words, that "behind the document there was a man," and that that man was John Winthrop. I do not doubt that the composition of the tract was Winthrop's, for an original draft of it has been found among his papers in his own handwriting. This tract had been read by Sir John Eliot in the Tower, for a copy of it has recently been found among his books, and he had corresponded with John Hampden about it, as shown in Nugent's Memorials of Hampden. There is every reason to believe that Winthrop was the friend of both these noble men. The wealthiest adventurer of the Massachusetts Bay Company, the Earl of Lincoln's son-in-law, Isaac Johnson, named

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John Winthrop and John Hampden joint executors of his estate, in a will which he made at this time.

This pamphlet contained the reasons for the planting in New England, the objections to the venture, and answers to the objections. It is usually called the Conclusions for New England. The reasons read thus: —

Reasons to be considered for iustifieinge the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England, & for incouraginge such whose hartes God shall move to ioyne wth them in it.

1. It will be a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the Gospell into those parts of the world, to helpe on the comminge of the fullnesse of the Gentiles, & to raise a Bulworke against the kingdome of Ante-Christ wch the Jesuits labour to reare up in those parts.

2. All other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, & o^{r} sinnes, for wch the Lord beginnes allreaddy to frowne upon us & to cutte us short, doe threatne evill times to be comminge upon us, & whoe knowes, but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whome he meanes to save out of the generall callamity, & seeinge the Church hath noe place lefte to flie into but the wildernesse, what better worke can there be, then to goe & provide tabernacles & foode for her against she comes thether;

3. This Land growes weary of her Inhabitants,

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soe as man, whoe is the most pretious of all creatures, is here more vile & base then the earth we treade upon, & of lesse prise among us then an horse or a sheepe; masters are forced by authority to entertaine servants, parents to mainetaine their owne children, all townes complaine of the burthen of their poore, though we have taken up many unnessisarie yea unlawfull trades to maintaine them, & we use the authoritie of the Law to hinder the increase of o^r^ people, as by urginge the Statute against Cottages, & inmates, & thus it is come to passe, that children, servants & neighboures, especially if they be poore, are compted the greatest burthens, wch if thinges weare right would be the chiefest earthly blessinges.

4. The whole earth is the Lords garden, & he hath given it to the Sonnes of men wth a gen^l^ Commission; Gen: 1: 28: increace & multiplie, & replenish the earth & subdue it, wch was againe renewed to Noah: the end is double & naturall, that man might enjoy the fruits of the earth, & God might have his due glory from the creature: why then should we stand striving here for places of habitation, etc. (many men spending as much labour & coste to recouer or keepe sometimes an acre or twoe of Land, as would procure them many & as good or better in another Countrie) & in the meane time suffer a whole Continent as fruitfull & convenient for the use of man to lie waste w^th^out any improvement.

5. We are growne to that height of Intemperance in all excesse of Riott, as noe mans estate all-

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most will suffice to keepe saile wth his æqualls; & he who failes herein, must liue in scorne & contempt. Hence it comes that all artes & Trades are carried in that deceiptfull & unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good & upright man to mainetayne his charge & liue comfortablie in any of them.

6. The ffountaines of Learning & Religion are soe corrupted as (besides the unsupportable charge of there education) most children (euen the best witts & of fairest hopes) are perverted, corrupted, & utterlie overthrowne by the multitude of evill examples & the licentious gouernm^{t} of those seminaries, where men straine at knatts & swallowe camells, use all seuerity for mainetaynance of cappes & other accomplyments, but suffer all ruffianlike fashions & disorder in manners to passe uncontrolled.

7. What can be a better worke & more honorable & worthy a Christian then to helpe raise & supporte a particular Church while it is in the Infancy, & to ioyne his forces wth such a company of faithfull people, as by a timely assistance may growe stronge & prosper, & for want of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined.

8. If any such as are knowne to be Godly, & liue in wealth and prosperity here, shall forsake all this, to ioyne themselues wth this Church & to runne an hazard wth them of an hard & meane condition, it will be an example of great use both for removinge the scandall of worldly & sinister respects wch is cast upon the Adventurers; to give more life to the faith of God's people, in their praiers for the Plan-

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tation; & to incorrage others to ioyne the more willingly in it.

9. It appears to be a worke of God for the good of his Church, in that he hath disposed the hartes of soe many of his wise & faithfull servants, both ministers & others, not onely to approve of the enterprise but to interest themselves in it, some in their persons & estates, & all by their praiers for the welfare of it. Amos 3: the Lord revealeth his secret to his servants the prophetts, it is likely he hath some greate worke in hand wch he hath revealed to his prophetts among us, whom he hath stirred up to encourage his servants to this Plantation, for he doth not use to seduce his people by his owne prophetts, but comitte that office to the ministrie of false prophetts & lieing spiritts.

The heads only of the objections may be given: —

2. It will be a great wrong to o^{r} Churche & Countrie to take awaye the good people, & we shall lay it the more open to the Judgm^{t} feared.

3. We have feared a Judgment a great while, but yet we are safe, it weare better therefore to stay till it come & either we may flie then, or if we be overtaken in it we may well content o^{r}selves to suffer wth such a Church as ours is.

4. The ill successe of other Plantations may tell us what will become of this.

5. It is attended wth many & great difficulties.

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6. It is a worke above the power of the undertakers.

7. The Countrie affordes not naturall fortifications.

8. The place affordeth not comfortable meanes to the first planters, & o^{r} breedinge here at home hath made us unfitte for the hardshippe we are like to endure there.

9. We must looke to be praeserved by miracle if we subsiste, & soe we shall tempt God.

10. If it succeed ill, it will raise a scandall upon o^{r} profession.

The answers to these objections are clear and logical, but need not be given here, for over two centuries of years of success have given a far clearer and more authoritative answer.

It is impossible to tell when the thought of emigration first took root in John Winthrop's mind. As early as 1623 he wrote to his son in college at Dublin, "I wish oft that God would open a way to settle in Ireland." This was but a passing thought, for we know that afterwards, in 1627, he seriously planned a residence in London or vicinity; and when in 1628 his son contemplated a voyage with a view of settling in a new plantation, the father wrote, "I am loath you should think of settling there as yet, but to be going and coming awhile, and afterward to do as God shall

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offer occasion." This "religious company" of colonists was undoubtedly the company which sailed with Endicott on June 20, 1628, and settled in Salem. The son abandoned this project, and set out upon a long voyage in Oriental lands. On his return in fourteen months he found (and it must have been to his vast surprise) his father embarked with earnestness and zeal in preparations for emigration to New England.

This prompt decision of John Winthrop's was characteristic of the man. Years before he had known clearly his own traits of character, and wrote, "My disposition is ever fittest upon the first apprehension of any thinge; if it hange of hande and I beginne once to beat my heade about it and meet with any rubbe and discouragement, I cannot for my life proceed to make any despatch."

On June 5, 1629, Winthrop wrote to his wife, "I thinke my Office is gone, so I shall not wrong thee so much with my absence as I have done;" and in the next letter, "My office is gone, and my chamber and I shall be a saver in them both." Possibly his opposition to the course of government at this period, or his well-known sympathy with those who were suffering unjust exactions, may have cost him his place. Or he may have been clear-sighted,

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and therefore did not wish to wait, as did Sir John Bramston of Roxwell, Essex, "till the drums and trumpets blew my gowne over my ears, and the Judges made a nose of wax of the law, wresting it to serve turns;" but he retired to private life ere war burst on the land.

In July, Winthrop and his brother-in-law, Emanuel Downing, rode into Lincolnshire, and fell into a great bog on the way, but were rescued. This Lincolnshire visit was doubtless to the Earl of Lincoln's son-in-law, Isaac Johnson, and the errand was to consult about the Massachusetts enterprise. On August 26, 1629, he signed the Cambridge Agreement under the shadow of the University, with Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Isaac Johnson, William Pyncheon; and by October he was already appointed governor.

This certainly was good speed; in this case he did not dally to "beat his head about it, and meet with rub and discouragement." There is no doubt that the first advances were made to him, not by him; that he was sought out by the directors of the Massachusetts Bay Company on account of his fitness and true worth. Years later he wrote, "I was first chosen to be Governour without my seeking or

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expectation — there being divers other gentlemen who for their abilities every way were far more fit." It was evident that these divers gentlemen were of very different opinion.

The Cambridge Agreement, signed in August, must be given some slight description. It was a solemn compact, not only to emigrate at a certain time, but to "inhabit and continue in New England," with a most significant proviso, that the whole government and patent for the Plantation should be given and established to the inhabitants of the Plantation. The privilege of disposing of rights in New England was one of James's monopolies, and had been vested in a corporation called The Council for New England, of which the Duke of Buckingham was president. On the 4th of March, 1629, a royal patent was granted to a body politic called The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and a liberal charter was conceded, and this only six days before Charles in hot anger dissolved his third Parliament preliminary to his eleven years of rule without a Parliament. Winthrop was not then of this company. Matthew Cradock was appointed governor, and by June four hundred "godly Christians" were despatched to Salem. At

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that time such charters were kept in England, where the governing board resided; but Governor Cradock conceived the design that the government had best be in the hands of those who inhabited the Plantation, who were on the spot. The Cambridge Agreement was signed on August 26th, and (Cradock having resigned) John Winthrop was chosen governor on the 20th of October; and when he sailed for New England, he carried with him the charter.

It is plain to see from these Conclusions and from his letters, that the considerations which induced Winthrop to come to New England were no private or personal matter. The moral, religious, and social condition of England at that time was certainly deplorable. The storm of disaster had not yet burst in all its force, but the mutterings of thunder could be heard, and the rising wind had already brought devastation on the land. Charles I. was just entering on that course which eventually brought him to the block. Parliament was dissolved, and the king's intention made public of ruling without one. "The treasure of the kingdom was being devoured and wasted by court-caterpillars." The land groaned under unjust taxation, of which ship-money was the most original and ingenious scheme, and monopolies the most universal.

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A cramping and hampering royal act was that of granting trade-monopolies to private persons. On these grants over a million pounds a year was paid in taxes. The minuteness of these monopolies, and the vexatious length to which they extended. may be judged from the purport of some of the grants which were quashed by a proclamation of the king in 1639, — an action through which he hoped to regain his lost popularity. One of these grants was for sealing bone-lace, another for sealing linen cloth, one for gauging red herring, for gathering rags, for sealing buttons, for marking butter-casks. Well might Sir John Culpepper compare them to the frogs of Egypt. He says, —

"They have gotten possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them. They sup in our cup. They dip in our dish. They sit by our fire. We find them in the dye-vat, wash-bowl, and powdering-tub. They share with the cutler in his box. They have marked us and scaled us from head to foot. They will not bate us a pin. We may not buy our own clothes without brokerage."

Ship-money was raised by levy on all the towns throughout the kingdom by ship-writs, to support the navy, to build ships, and, under the name of coat and conduct money,

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to provide for the army; and the soldiers were billeted on private citizens. Large sums were raised by commissions. Loans, benevolences, and free gifts were demanded until no man could call anything his own. Nor did he dare protest, lest he lose his liberty as well as his estate. The Marshalsea and Gate-House were soon crowded with English gentlemen who had refused to yield to arbitrary exactions. "The land grew weary of her inhabitants." Fuel was scarce, the wood supply exhausted, and coal was irregularly furnished. Hence the court records and justices' diaries of the times contain innumerable entries of the arrests and trials of wood-stealers, hedge-tearers, and tree-pollers. These devastators were severely punished by imprisonment in the "dark-house," by being set in the stocks or whipped through the town. But the starving, freezing poor were desperate, and the despoliation went on in spite of fine and imprisonment. Many a beautiful tree was polled at night, when out of sight and sound of the lord's manor-house.

Another of Winthrop's reasons for leaving England was because "the ffountains of Learning and Religion are soe corrupted." The scholarships and livings were "jobbed out," sold to rich men's sons, not given to worthy scholars,

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as was the intent of the donors. "Except one be able to give the Regent or Provost of the house a piece of money, twentie, fortie, yea a hundred pound, a yoke of fatte oxen or the like, though he be never so toward a youth, he comes not there, I warrant him." The schoolmasters were so badly paid that they could not buy books, nor maintain themselves, and were obliged to pay for a license in every diocese in which they taught. This corruption in England helped to nourish good seed in New England, where the cause of education ever was cherished and aided.

There are many expressions in the letters of Lucy Downing, John Winthrop's sister, that show the restraint of the times, the religious and political distresses. Indeed, they paint to me, in a few clear and striking touches, the condition of the Puritan in England at that period. She writes in 1627, —

"Here is no newes but very tart, and harde standinge to knowe the Liberties of our persons and goods, yet we are verie wise an curragious; but wee had have senne you ere this."

After Winthrop had gone to New England she wrote to him, —

"1636. The Bishope of Norwige, whose name is Wren, doth impose a hundred and 32 articles to the

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clergy in his diocess, some whereof they fear will put by both Msr Lea, and divers others wich thought themselves very conformable men. Msr Gourden is questioned for not bowinge and knellinge att buriall prayers."

Mr. Lea was evidently the curate at Groton Church (which was a living in the gift of the Winthrops), whom Winthrop described in one of his letters as "a godly man, a man of very good parts, but of a melancholie constitution yet as sociable and full of good discourse as I have known." It is very evident that he was "put by" from his parish; for a little later Mrs. Downing writes, —

"Indeed they are very sensible of Mr Lea's restraint, as well they may, for he was an vpright and paynfull pasture of theers, truly careinge for theer soulles; however somebody either weakly or wors did abuse both my brother Winthrop and him, in relations of Mr Lea, which did a littell touch him; yet I confess he bare it with as much Christian patience, and made as good vse of it to himself, I thinke as might be; and I cannot tell but there might be a providence in it for his good; for it came stranglie to his vewe. I sendinge the letter to my sister from Cowne; he beinge by and she beinge a very poor clark, desired him to read it to her; and poor soulle, she was so perplext when she heard the passages in it; but Mr Lea hath well quit himselfe of those aspersions; for he

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hath left but all for the cause, and I have littell hope either of him or any in the like condition to be restored."

She then tells of being banished the city, and that "the word and Saboth are clipt;" that similar restraints were placed on the preachers in Essex, and says sadly and truly, "these are days of tryall."

In 1629 Laud was Bishop of London, and had begun the crowding-out policy, which, at the time of his elevation to the See of Canterbury, he steadily increased. He enforced the use of the surplice, and of many Episcopal ceremonies offensive to the Puritans, because to them savoring of Rome. He suppressed the lectures in towns, which were the favorite posts of the Puritan preachers and of the gatherings of Puritans. The silenced preachers then went to the country; so Laud withdrew from the country gentlemen the privilege of keeping chaplains. Even rectors of the Established Church were suspended who dared to give what was termed "Gospel preaching." The chief rejoicing of the Puritans in James's reign had been the publication of what is called King James's version of the Bible; but finally the importation of Genevan Bibles was prohibited by Laud. This hurt the heart of the Puritans full sorely. In the diocese of

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Norwich, under Bishop Wren, of whom Mrs. Downing writes, thirty parochial ministers were expelled from their cures. Before Winthrop left England he saw three hundred godly ministers silenced, deprived of their power of preaching.

Among many sore evils that John Winthrop witnessed in England, perhaps the most actively offensive to him were the abuses of the Sabbath. I cannot imagine anything more shocking to a man of his nature than the reading of King James's Book of Sports in the churches, and the way in which the English Sabbath could lawfully be spent, — that is, according to the law of man, not of God. He must have felt as Babington said, "Let them wey whether carding, dising, tabling, bowling, cocking, stage-plaies, and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or that ale, this beare baiting or that bullbaiting, with a number such be exercises commanded of God for the Sabath day or not." A tract of the time of James, in the British Museum, speaks of the "sweete pastyme of bearebayting." I have never read anything more revolting than an account of this sweet pastime, as it was witnessed by a large assemblage — the king, queen, Duke of York, Princess Elizabeth among them — in the year 1609 in

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London. Lion and horse baiting also were common. In 1625 an act was passed prohibiting these baitings. The account of the performance of masks in the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn at the time of the marriage celebration of the Princess Elizabeth to the Palsgrave in 1612 is most curious and interesting, but must have jarred somewhat on Winthrop if he chanced to be present. Fairs and markets were held on Sunday. Church ales — that is, the brewing and selling of ales in churches, often on Sunday — had been declared unlawful in 1595 and in 1607; but in 1622 the war against it was still being carried on, and the abuse still existed.

Not to dwell further on historical events, we may say in brief enumeration that the quarter of a century of John Winthrop's life previous to his departure to New England, had seen enacted a significant and stirring chapter of English history, one to distress him and to put him to deep thought. It had witnessed the Gunpowder Plot; the breach of two kings with the Commons; the hated agitation of the Spanish royal marriage, and the successful arrangement of the French royal marriage; the imprisonment and death of Raleigh; the impeachment of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor; the assassination of the hated Duke of

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Buckingham by a Suffolk man, one Felton, a fellow-lieutenant in the expedition with John Winthrop, Jr. The imprisonment of fearless Sir John Eliot in the Gate House distressfully ended this term of years. Abroad, the Bohemian war, the war with France, the assassination of great Henry in the streets of Paris, the loss of the Palatinate, the racking of Germany, the failure of the Huguenot cause at Rochelle, marked this period, and made the cause of Protestantism outside of England look truly desperate. To John Winthrop and men of his mind, the conditions of religion in England seemed also in sadly deplorable and dangerous plight.

John Winthrop had known of those thrilling, those almost terrible scenes in Parliament, and had doubtless shared in the agony of distress; as when Sir Robert Phillips spoke and mingled his words with weeping, and Mr. Pym did likewise, and Sir Edward Coke, "overcome with passion, and seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears;" and the Speaker in his ruling could not refrain from weeping, and Sir John Eliot groaned aloud in despair. Think of it,—think of those sturdy men, tough old Coke of Coke upon Littleton, melting into tears of agony at

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what seemed to them the death-throes of the nation, and try to imagine what such men endured, and then you may know why John Winthrop was so willing to go to New England.

Personal conditions may have added reasons for his decision. I have always felt that it must have been a particularly degrading, biting, harrying annoyance to a man of Winthrop's temperament, to be subject to the constant abuse which was showered at that day on the Puritan, his religion, his manner of life. A Puritan woman, Lucy Hutchinson, the wife of the Regicide, says the Puritans were branded as an illiterate, morose, melancholy, discontented, crazed sort of men, not fit for human conversation. Winthrop himself wrote in 1616: —

> "All experience tells me, that in this way there is least companie, and those who doe walk openlye in this way shalbe despised, pointed at, hated of the world, made a byeworde, reviled, slandered, rebuked, made a gazinge-stock, called puritans, nice fools, hipocrites, hair-brainde fellows, rashe, indiscreet, vain-glorious, and all that naught is."

The scores of vile and belittling epithets, the scurrilous and insulting attacks, the personal abuse applied to these Puritans, have been told in hundreds of pamphlets and books

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of the times, and need not be recounted here. To a man of such dignity, such severity, such uprightness as Winthrop, with such regard for the proprieties of life, these things must have been more than distasteful, and must have made him long for a country of amity, of tranquillity, of congeniality, where purity of life and a sincere religious belief would meet with a reward of esteem and respect and peaceful personal existence in this world, as well as heavenly blessings in the next.

This incessant abuse had not been lavished upon the Puritans because they formed a party weak and insignificant, but because they were formidable and successful. Carlyle declares that by this time "the far greater part of the serious Thought and Manhood of England had declared itself Puritan." We know the contributors from Puritan ranks to the field of literature; and wealth, rank, social refinement, and intelligence were seen in its numbers. Even as early as the reign of Elizabeth such noblemen as the Earls of Warwick, Bedford, Huntington, and Leicester were friendly to and interested in the success of Puritanism. Elizabeth's great ministers — Burleigh, Walsingham, Bacon — were never Puritan haters. We have seen that her Chancellor of the Exchequer founded

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a Puritan college. During the reign of James the party swayed the House of Commons, and it was not insignificant in power among the lords. In truth, the Puritans were not morose and sour, not even stern. They were often gracious courtiers, and cheerful, even gay companions in social life. Lucy Hutchinson has left this picture of her Puritan husband, the young Regicide, —

"He would dance admirably well but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing such as became a gentleman; he had great love to music, and often devoted himself with a viol on which he played masterly; he had an exact ear and judgment in other music; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in prospective glasses, and, for his other rarities, was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work; he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting of groves and walks and fruit trees, in opening springs and making fish ponds."

She speaks of his personal appearance, his fine hair which he wore in curls over his shoulders. All this might be a picture of the courtier Pepys; and it shows that, after all, the life's breath, the heart's blood of Puritan-

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ism was not the severity nor the distinctive dress, nor the form of worship, but its sincere religious belief, nay, more, its morality.

For there is one element of Puritanism which has been proved and emphasized to me in my study of the lives of those of that stern religion, and that is their high standard of morality, their regard for the duties and beauties of domestic life. In his private life, and especially in his relations to his family, the Puritan was all a man should be; and for his firm stand in this respect, for his writings and his practice, we owe mainly to-day our higher state of social morals. Everything in history and literature points to a low and depraved state of morals in cavalier life. The family life of John Winthrop was truly beautiful, and so was that of hundreds of his fellow Puritans.

A Puritan woman in those troublous times had also to bear many a stinging jest and innuendo through her religion. One may be quoted to show what was doubtless a popular sentiment of the times in Church of England circles; for the book in which it appeared was widely read, being a favorite among those essays analytic of human character which in the seventeenth century took the place of romances. It was called Micro-Cosmo-

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graphie, and was written by Dr. John Earle, Bishop of Salisbury. This "character," as the chapter was called, was "intituled" "A Shee-precise Hypocrite."

"Shee is one in whom good Women suffer, and have their truth misinterpreted by her folly. She is one, she knows not what herselfe if you aske her, but shee is indeed one that has taken a toy at the fashion of Religion, and is enamour'd of the New-fangle. Shee is a Nonconformist in a close Stomacher and Ruffe of Geneva print, and her puritie consists much in her Linen. Shee has left her Virginity as a Relique of Popery, and marries in her Tribe without a Ring. Her devotion at church is much in turning up her eye and turning down the leaf in her Booke when shee hears nam'd Chapter and Verse. When she comes home shee commends the Sermon for the Scripture, and two houres. Shee loves Preaching better than Praying, and of Preachers Lectures, and thinkes the Weeke-dayes Exercises farre more edifying than the Sundaies. Her fittest Gossipings are Sabaoth-dayes journiyes, where (though an Enemy to Superstition) she will goe in Pilgrimage five mile to a silenc'd Minister when there is a better Sermon in her owne Parish. Shee doubts of the Virgin Mary's Salvation, and dare not Saint her, but knowes her owne place in heaven as perfectly as the Pew shee has a key to. Shee is so taken up with Faith, shee has no roome for Charity, and understands no good

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Workes but what wrought on the Sampler. She accounts nothing Vices but Superstition, and an Oath. . . . Shee rayles at other Women by the names of Jezabel and Delilah; and calls her owne daughters Rebecka and Abigail, and not Anne but Hannah. Shee suffers them not to learne on the Virginalls, because of their affinity with the Organs, but is reconcil'd to the Bells for the Chymes sake, since they were reform'd to the tune of a Psalme. Shee overflowes so with the Bible that she spils it upon every occasion, and will not Cudgell her Maides without Scripture. It is a question whether shee is more troubled with the Divell or the Divell with her; shee is alwayes challenging and daring him and her weapons are Spels no lesse potent than different, as being the sage Sentences of some of her own Sectaries. No thing angers her soe much as that Women cannot Preach, and in this point onely thinks the Brownist erroneous. Shee is a maine divider to her capacitie of those who are not her Preachers and conserves all sermons but bad ones. . . . Shee is one that thinkes she performes all her duty to God in hearing, and shews all the fruites of it in talking. Shee is more fiery against the Maypole than her Husband and thinkes he might doe a Phineas his act to break the pate of the Fiddler. She is an everlasting Argument — but I am weary of her."

With the one exception of disallowing that the Puritan woman was a hypocrite, these

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statements of Dr. Earle's might all be true, and not very reprehensible; and doubtless in external aspect many of them were true. She certainly did love Puritan lectures better than Episcopal prayers; she hated the organs and may-poles, and she overflowed with the Bible.

And it must be acknowledged that some diaries of the times show that the Puritan woman was occasionally, through revolt against the laxity of the day, severely rigid and harsh. Ambrose Barnes wrote of his kinswomen in this spirited, plain-spoken, and graphic fashion: —

"Mrs. Butler was a gentlewoman of strong parts and great knowledge of divine things, but of so stern and harsh a temper that they used to say of her, she had as much grace as would serve half-a-dozen saints but not enough for herself. Being left a widow by her husband Butler she married that holy, humble and truly reverent Mr. Elkanah Wales of fragrant memory. His mildness made the ruggedness and severity of her society more easy to him than it would have been to many. This man of God was physition, I may say Angel to her soul. . . . Mrs Butler's daughters, like those of Job, carried Perfume Paint and Perfection in the very air and sound of their names, having all the beauteous ornaments of perfection in a naturall plainness. Her eldest daughter

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Jane was another Sarochia, few divines equalling her skill in textual divinity. She married the Rev Mr John Oxenbridge M. A. . . . She had an infirm body but was strong in faith. Her husband and she tumbled about the world in unsettled times. Her husband, a great divine and of great ministerial skill, she being a scholar beyond what is usual in her sex, and of a masculine judgment in the profound points of theologie, loved commonly to have her opinion upon a text of scripture before he preacht from it. . . .

"The best, as well as the eldest of all the children which the Lord graciously gave unto His servant, was his daughter Mary. She was a mother in Israel, a mother in her father's house, and a blessing to all who had to do with her. Old Mr Hutchinson, whose eldest son she marryed, would say he would give a thousand pound if his wife had the sincerity, reason and discretion his daughter in law was mistress of. I question if any out of heaven excelled her. . . . What was commendable and what was discommendable in his youngest daughter Sarah was so strangely jumbled by the confusion of her head that it was an hard matter what to say of her, further than she made evident discoveries of the fear of God, which in Chrysostom's opinion makes a distracted person a sober person. She hated lying and abhorred the wayes of wicked men, read much and was a strict observer of the Saboth."

There are extremes in all intense religions. These women had what another Puritan,

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Whitelock, called "a religious desperativeness."

In all the collections of family letters which I have read, I have never seen any which speak more forcibly of intense affection, purity of purpose, exalted religious feeling, and steadfastness throughout perplexing conditions, than do the letters exchanged by John and Margaret Winthrop during the time of his careful investigation and thoughtful decision in regard to their emigration to New England. It is not too much to say that their letters as a whole form a perfect ideal of married love, and are also a revelation of the inherent grace and spiritual beauty of the Christian faith of that generation of Puritans.

The letters of this year show that under the cold steel armor of duty worn by John Winthrop there beat a heart as tender, as passionate, as Shakespeare's; while Margaret Winthrop's evince an exalted, an almost inspired confidence in her husband, in the wisdom and nobility of his convictions and actions, which must in turn have inspired him and given him good courage and happiness in his purpose. I will not give in full the letters exchanged during his preparations for emigration, after his decision to take this most important step; but simply extracts enough to

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show the character of his wife's communications to him, and the answers they evoked. There was one sad, one most depressing element to be considered in this important decision, — Margaret Winthrop must be left behind. She could go with him with clasped hands on this ocean journey. John Winthrop wrote to his wife in the autumn of 1629 from London these words, preparing her for the thought of the separation: —

"I sende thee herewith some papers concerninge N. E; when thou lookest upon them, thou wilt beare with the brevitye of my letters; I would have Forth read the book to thee; for the loose papers let him write them out better and then read them . . . especially that gratious lettre in the end, which I wish thee and the rest to read seariously over. . . . I shall be as loth to leave my kinde wife behinde me as she wilbe to stay, but we must leave all in Gods good Providence.

"I am verye sorye that I am forced to feed thee with letters when my presence is thy due and so much desired; but my trust is, that he who hath so disposed of it, will supply thee with patience and better comforte in the want of him who thou so much desirest; The Lord is able to doe this and thou mayest expect it, for he hath promised it. Seeinge he calls me into his worke, he will have care of thee and all ours and our affairs in my absence; therefore I must send thee to him for all thou lackest; goe boldly (sweet wife) to the

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throne of Grace; if anythinge trouble thee, acquainte the Lord with it; tell him, he hath taken thy husband from thee, pray him to be a husband to thee, a father to thy children, a master to thy householde, thou shalt finde him faithfull; thou art not guilty of my departure, thou hast not driven me awaye by any unkindnesse, or want of dutye, therefore thou mayest challenge protection and blessing of him."

The wife wrote thus in return to her husband: —

"I knowe not how to expresse my love to thee or my desires of thy wished welfare, but my hart is well knowne to thee, which will make relation of my affections though they be smalle in appearance; my thoughts are more on our great change and alteration of our course heare, which I beseech the Lord to bless us in & my good Husband cheare up thy hart in the expectacion of Gods goodnesse to us, and let nothing dismay and discourage thee; if the Lord be with us who can be against us; my grefe is the feare of staying behind thee but I must leave all to the good Providence of God."

This noble confidence brought an appreciative answer from the husband, —

"My sweete wife, I received thy most kinde Lettre and blessed be our good God that giveth us still cause of rejoycinge in the news of each others welfare and of those which are deare to us; and blessed be God, who hath given me a wife who is such a

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helpe and incouragement to me in this greate worke, wherein soe many wives are so great an hindrance to theirs; I doubt not but the Lorde will recompense abundantly the faithfulnesse of thy love and obedience, and for my selfe I shall be ever mindfull of thee and carefull to requite thee."

As the time of separation approached, he wrote: —

"I must begin now to prepare thee for our long parting which growes very near. I know not how to deal with thee by arguments; for if thou wert as wise and patient as ever woman was, yet it must needs be a great trial to thee, and the greater because I am so dear to thee. That which I must chiefly look at in thee, for thy ground of contentment, is thy godliness."

To a tender letter in which the wife alludes to their solemn leave-taking and their joyful reunion in New England, Winthrop answers with much passion that he is "dissolved in tears at the reading. If I live I will see thee ere I goe. I shall part with thee in sorrow enough." The tears still stain this sad and loving letter, which is followed by one after the parting, which is an outburst of still more pathos and beauty. It was written aboard the Arbella riding at the Cowes, March 28, 1630.

"And now, my sweet soul, I must once again take my last farewell of thee in Old England. It goeth

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very near to my heart to leave thee; but I know to whom I have committed thee even to Him, who loves thee better than any husband can; who hath taken account of the hairs of thy head, and puts all thy tears in his bottle; who can and (if it be for his glory) will bring us together again with peace and comfort. Oh how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall yet again see thy sweet face in the land of the living! — that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in, and beheld with so great content! I have hitherto been so taken up with business, as I could seldom look back to my former happiness; but now when I shall be at some leisure, I shall not avoid the remembrance of thee, nor the grief for thy absence. Thou hast thy share with me, but I hope the course we have agreed upon will be some ease to us both. Mondays and Fridays at five of the clock at night, we shall meet in spirit till we meet in person. Yet if all these hopes should fail, blessed be our God, that we are assured we shall meet one day, if not as husband and wife, yet in a better condition. Let that stay and comfort thine heart. Neither can the sea drown thy husband, nor enemies destroy, nor any adversity deprive thee of thy husband or children. Therefore I will only take thee now and my sweet children in mine arms, and kiss and embrace you all, and so leave you with God. Farewell, farewell. I bless you all in the name of the Lord Jesus."

Mr. Robert C. Winthrop compares this agreement of husband and wife to meet in spirit twice a week during their bodily sepa-

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ration, to the same thought placed by Shakespeare in the mouth of Imogen; but he adds, with keen insight into the deeper signification of the Puritan compact, "Posthumus was not in his forty-third year, as Winthrop was, nor Imogen in her thirty-ninth."

In their decision to emigrate, John and Margaret Winthrop were supported and comforted by the steadfast assistance of the Governor's oldest son John, one whose support was indeed a firm staff. The young man had just returned from long travel in distant lands, full of the knowledge and confidence which such journeyings bring. He was of an earnest and sober disposition, of most exalted piety, and faithful, obedient, and diligent in all things. The sentence in which he notifies his father of his decision to dedicate himself to the work is not only most noble and philosophical in thought, but is a model of English literary style, —

"For the business of New England I can say no other thing, but that I believe confidently, that the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord, who disposeth all alterations, by his blessed will, to his own glory and the good of his; and therefore, I do assure myself, that all things shall work together for the best therein. And for myself, I have seen so much of the vanity of the world, that I esteem no more of the diversities of countries, than as so

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many inns, whereof the traveller that hath lodged in the best, or in the worst, findeth no difference, when he cometh to his journeys end; and I shall call that my country where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and with your leave, do dedicate myself (laying by all desire of other employments whatsoever) to the service of God and the Company herein, with the whole endeavours both of body and mind.

"The Conclusions which you sent down . . . are unanswerable; and it cannot but be a prosperous action which is so well allowed by the judgments of God's prophets, undertaken by so religious and wise worthies of Israel and indented to God's glory in so special a service."

We cannot form any judgment of the difficulty, the struggle it must have been for John Winthrop to make this final decision to come to the new colony. He not only had to wound his strong affections by parting with his wife and family, but he had to stake his fortune; and his way was made harder by conflicting advice from timid friends. Only two weeks before the Agreement at Cambridge, he received this solemn warning from Robert Ryece, a friend whom he had urged to join in the enterprise: —

"For the subjecte you wrytte of, breefley and playnely to shewe you my mynde, whatsoever

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others saye, I praye you give mee leave in one woorde to shewe you. The Church & Commonwelthe heere at home, hathe more neede of your beste abyllytie in these dangerous tymes, than any remote plantation, which may be performed by persons of lesser woorthe & apprehension, whiche I coolde shewe, yf I had tyme to thinke vpon dyversities of reasons which mighte be produced. Agayne, your owne estate wylbe more secured in the myddest of all accidents heere at home than in this forreine expedition which discovereth a 1000 shipwrackes which may betyde. All your kynsfolkes and moste vnderstanding friends wyll more rejoyce at your stayenge at home, with any condition which God shall send, than to throwe yourselfe vpon vayne hopes, with many difficulties and vncertaynties. Agayne, you shalbe more acceptable in the service of the Hieste, and more vnder His protection whiles you walk charely in your vocation heere at home, than to goe owte of your vocation, comytinge yourselfe to a woorlde of dangers abroade. The pype goeth sweete, tyll the byrde be in the nett; many bewtifull hopes are sett before your eyes to allewer you to danger. Plantations are for yonge men, that can endure all paynes and hunger. If in your yeweth you had been acquaynted with navigation, you might have promised yourselfe more hope in this long vyadge, but for one of your yeeres to vndertake so large a taske is seldom seene but to miscarry. To adventure your whole famylly vpon so many manifeste vncerteynties standeth not with your wisdom and long experience. Lett yonger

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yeeres take this charge vpon them, with the advyse of that which elder yeeres shall direct them vnto, the losse shalbe the lesse if they miscarry, but their honor shall be the more if they prosper. So long as you sytt at the helme, your famyle prospereth but yf you shoold happen to fayle, your flock would be at the leaste in hazarde, if not wholly to myscarry. Yonge mens directions thowghe sometymes with some successe do not alwayes succeed. These remote partes wyll not well agree with your yeeres; whiles you are heere you wyll be ever fytter by your vnderstandinge and wisdome to supplye their necessities. But if it shoolde happen that you shoolde gett safely thither you shall soone fynde, how necessitye will call for supplye from these parts. I pray you pardon my boldness, that had rather err in what I thinke, than be sylente in that I shoolde speake. How harde wyll it bee for one browghte vpp among bookes and learned men, to lyve in a barbarous place, where is no learning and lesse syvillytie. I beeseeche the Lord to direct you and to keepe you in all your wayes."

John Winthrop proceeded calmly on his way despite of this and many other discouragements, among them some from members of the Tyndal family. Perhaps he was too busy to heed them, for in the five months ere he sailed he had funds to raise, ships to be chartered, and ship-supplies to be selected

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and purchased. There were ministers to be chosen, and a chirurgeon. He had to attend tedious consultations of the Massachusetts Bay Company, in order to be prepared to settle difficulties at Salem. He had also to care for the disposition and charge of his private affairs, the sale of his beloved English home. In all this time, though helped bravely by his faithful son John, he could make but three short visits to the wife he was so soon to leave behind him. But at last the preparations were all at an end, and after pious Godspeeds from scores of loving friends and neighbors, he went on board the ship Arbella at Southampton with Margaret's two little sons, Stephen and Adam, and the home of his youth knew him no more.

It is typical of the broadness and calmness of Winthrop's mind that he sent ashore with his private messages ere he sailed a request for the prayers and affection of the Church of England. I say Winthrop sent it. It was a circular letter, and he was the first to sign it, and it was probably of his composition. It contains tender reference to the Church of England as "our dear Mother," and proves that these Puritans were not at that time Separatists on principle. Higginson had given expression to similar thoughts the year

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before. The Church was, indeed, their mother, for all the ministers accompanying them were clergymen of the Church of England, and the Thirty-Nine Articles were earnestly confessed by them all; but nevertheless they were nonconformists to the Establishment, and, when the ocean intervened, in practice proved Separatists.

There were some sad gatherings of friends on the eve of this embarking. Hubbard says, —

> "That honourable and worthy gentleman Mr. John Winthrop, the Governour of the Company, at a solemn feast amongst many friends, a little while before their last farewell, finding his bowels yearn within him, instead of drinking to them, by breaking into a flood of tears himself set them all a-weeping, with Paul's friends while they thought of seeing the faces of each other in the land of the living."

Truly, as Winthrop wrote to one friend, this addition of forever was a sad ending to a friendly farewell. The solemn letters of leave-taking which he wrote are exceedingly beautiful. One to his friend and kinsman, Sir William Spring, member of Parliament from Suffolk, is a true utterance of a David to a Jonathan, a letter that thrills one in the reading to-day.

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But on his wife Margaret he poured out his tenderest valedictions, and he sealed his letters to her with his new signet, — a seal he ever after used; it bore the Dove of Promise.

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V

SEPARATION AND REUNION

On the seventy-second day of John Winthrop's tedious voyage across the wide ocean, there came flying, as to the Ark, a dove; and there came also a "pleasant and sweet air" to the weary passengers on board the Arbella and her fellow transports, "a smell of the shore like the smell of a garden;" and four days later the Arbella came to anchor.

> "With hearts revived in conceit new Lands and Trees they spy,
> Scenting the Caedars and sweet fern from heats reflection dry,"

wrote one colonist of that arrival, in his Good Newes from Newe England.

Fair and beautiful before these shipworn souls lay the picturesque rocks, the green shores of this Land of Promise, sweet as they are to-day with summer incense from the hot dry cedars and sweet fern; radiant with the ephemeral, the paradisiacal glory of a New England day in June, — a rare and perfect

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day, — when, says Thoreau, we *know* all our sins are forgiven. "Most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann and gathered store of fine strawberries," as had their Salem friends the year before, sweet single roses and strawberries, — fruit emblematic of the anticipated treasures of the golden land. Of good courage and good cheer were those men and women, after their wearisome pilgrimage, as they had been during the voyage, during wind and storm, and when eight strange sail bore down upon them — perhaps the dreaded Dunkirkers — and they had gone between decks and been "cheerful and comfortable," and "not a woman or child showed fear or dismayedness." They had fasted much, and prayed always, and catechized and prophesied, and Mr. Phillips had solaced them with sermons, preaching often and long; and here was an answer to all their godliness and all their hopes, a sweet smell as of a garden and the fruits of the land.

Let us hear what those hundreds of brave, happy, confident, trusting Christians found awaiting them on that beautiful shore. We learn little of it from the letters or journal of the steadfast Winthrop; but from a fireside letter of Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, hear this brief account: —

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"We found the Colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before and many of those alive, weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight."

The Governor's heart must have quailed at this startling and appalling condition of affairs, — a condition he certainly had no reason to anticipate, judging from the eulogistic accounts of the colony which had been sent to England during the previous year. Here were a thousand mouths to be fed, and only scarcity before them. Sheltering roofs, albeit of the humblest form, often only booths and tents, had also to be provided ere the warm summer days were flown, and the stern New England winter fell upon them. The Governor at once assumed authority, and he speedily despatched the ship Lyon to England for store of provisions; and he discharged a large number of indented servants who, discouraged and despondent, would do little work, but who had to be fed. This was at a loss of several thousand pounds to the Company, — through forfeiture of bonds, — but on the whole to the Company's good, since each man would work when he found he had to shift and provide for himself. "And the Governor presently fell to worke with his

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owne hands and thereby soe encouraged the rest that there was not an idle person to be found in the whole Plantation." And as Salem "pleased him not," — and I could never understand why it did not, — he went out promptly to the Mattachusetts "to find a place for our sitting down;" and soon the band "planted dispersedly" at Malden, Charlestown, Watertown, Roxbury, and Dorchester.

And there fell anon upon poor Winthrop not only public disaster and care, but sore private affliction, — a mysterious stroke of Providence. It is but a line in his journal, "My son H. W. was drowned at Salem," the only agitation evinced being in the use of the first person instead of his wonted habit of referring to himself as the Governor. On the very day after his landing, after escaping perils of the ocean, Henry Winthrop plunged into a creek, under the tropical sun of a New England July, to fetch an Indian canoe to his comrades, and, like many another New England youth since his day, "was taken with the cramp a few roods from shore and drowned," since none other of those present could swim. It is not difficult to picture the party on shore, aghast and helpless, and their doleful return to the stricken Governor.

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But soon the warm summer days were gone, and with the winter again came death. "There is not a house where there is not one dead," wrote Dudley. Winthrop lost twelve of his own household.

It is pathetic to read of one little child but eleven years old, that before her death she gave "extraordinary evidences concerning the things of another world;" and to know that her heavenly visions came because "of her family and kindred dyed so many as it was matter of observacon among us." Poor little earth-weary traveller!

Edward Johnson, an eyewitness, tells in his Wonder-working Providence of the want and woe: —

> "In almost every family lamentation, mourning and woe was heard, and noe fresh food to be had to cherish them. It would have assuredly have moved the most lockt-up affections to teares had they past from one hut to another, and beheld the pitious case these people were in."

Fierce east winds searched these poor sick creatures through and through, and New England frosts and snows chilled them. On one side lay the vast and dreary ocean, on the other the limitless and gloomy forest. Starvation sat at their door. "When I could have

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meal and water and salt boiled together," wrote old Roger Clap, "it was so good who could wish for better?" The women at low-tide gathered clams and mussels from the frozen beach, — but dull and sorry winter-fare. They ate ground-nuts, acorns, scant fish, and thus eked out their waning corn-meal. Where was the teeming bounty of which Higginson exultantly wrote home to Old England, — the plentiful fowl and game, the abundance of sea fish, the lavish hundredfold of corn, the beautiful air, the sweet water? Not even the water was there; Governor Winthrop and the Charlestown settlers had but one spring, and "that not to be come at but when the tide was down." This added to their "present distress." And soon a kindly Englishman, William Blackstone, who lived alone on the other side of the river at a place called Shawmut, where were excellent springs, "invited and solicited" them thither (and I suspect lived to regret it); and the Governor and the minister removed there, and when they went we may be sure others speedily followed, and this place was called Boston.

And thus the gloomy winter wore on, so unhappy, so desolate, so forlorn that I cannot bear to recall it. But Winthrop noted it only in his prayers and his tender heart, for his

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cheerful letters and journal are silent as to his sufferings. Others tell the details of the story of starvation, and we learn that when the Governor was distributing the last handful of meal in his barrel to a poor man distressed, at that instant was spied a ship in the harbor's mouth, the Lyon. She had been gone seven months. She brought to Winthrop news of the birth of another daughter, Anne, and the sad story of the death of another son, Forth, his third child, — a noble and interesting youth, just out of Cambridge, where he was contemporary with Milton. His letters show him to have been dearly loved and loving. He was consecrated to the ministry, and was to marry his cousin Ursula Sherman; but his earthly life was ended. This was indeed a clouded year in the Governor's life.

For the daily life of John Winthrop after his setting sail from England to the time of his death, in his public capacity and in brief mention of his private life, as well as in unconscious delineation of his character, we have an ample private journal or narrative. This journal has an interesting history. For a century after Winthrop's death the three volumes were well known and accessible to historians. I suspect they were within the Prince Library; for Hubbard, Mather, and

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Prince all make reference to them. For half a century they temporarily vanished, when the first and second volumes were found, during the Revolution, by Gov. Jonathan Trumbull in the possession of the Winthrop family of New London. Governor Trumbull, with his secretary, John Porter, copied a large portion of their contents; and soon after Trumbull's death Noah Webster engaged Porter to make a second copy, which, by consent of the Winthrop family, was printed in 1790.

Meanwhile the third volume was missing for a quarter of a century, when it came to light in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston, in the Prince Library, — that library which was planned and gathered to the honor of its founder, and scattered and neglected to the disgrace of its custodians. This third volume was given for editing into loving and expert hands, — those of the intelligent antiquary, James Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who encountered sad rebuffs in his work of editing. His first copy of the third volume was lost, and he had to do his work all over again. He felt it necessary to edit anew the first and second volumes, for he found the Hartford edition lacked accuracy; and before his labors were ended the original second volume and nearly all his copy

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were destroyed by fire. So, while we have accurate copies of the first and third volumes, we are obliged for the other volume to trust Noah Webster's version. The original volumes are now in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. No one can ever thoroughly know John Winthrop's character who has not read this journal, called Winthrop's History of New England. Its candor, fairness, veracity, and singularly pleasing though simple diction, make it far more attractive reading than most of the records of life of that time; and to the historical student every word is precious. Its value has been acknowledged and extolled by all historical writers. Mr. Doyle, in his work The Puritan Colonies in America, fairly eulogizes it, and ends by saying, —

> "One lays it down feeling that the whole internal life of Massachusetts has been disclosed. Nor, when the subject demands it, is there any lack of that weight and dignity of speech which comes from simplicity and clearness of mind."

Five letters of John Winthrop's also remain, which were written to his wife during this year of gloom, of apprehension, of loneliness. They are wonderful examples of calm repression, of good courage, of Christian faith; but

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I present them not so much to tell the story of his life during this dreary time, or even to show his courage, as to show his constant affection, his watchful thought, his attentive preparations, and instructions for the comfort of his wife Margaret during her voyage to his welcoming arms.

To my verye lovnge wife Mrs Winthrop the elder at Groton in Suff neere Sudbury.

CHARLETON in N; England. July 16, 1630.

MY DEARE WIFE, — Blessed be the Lord or good God & mercifull father, that yet hath preserved me in life & health to salute thee, & to comforte thy longe longinge heart, wth the joyfull newes ofmy welfare, & the wellfare of thy beloved children.

We had a longe & troublesome passage, but the Lord made it safe & easye to us; & though we have meet wth many & great troubles (as this bearer can certifie thee) yet he hath pleased to uphold us, & to give us the hope of a happye issue.

I am so overpressed wth businesse, as I have no tyme for these or other mine owne private occasions. I onely write now, that thou mayest knowe that yet I live & am mindfull of thee, in all my affairs. The larger discourse of all things thou shalt receive from my brother Downinge, wch I must sende by some of the last shippes. We have mett wth many sadd & discomfortable thinges, as thou shalt heare after; & the Lords hande hath been

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heavy upon my selfe in some verye neare to me; My sonne Henry, my sonne Henrye, ah, poore childe! Yet it greives me much more for my deare daughter. The Lord strengthen & comfort her heart, to beare this crosse patiently. I know thou wilt not be wanting to her in this distresse; yet for all these thinges (I prayse my God) I am not discouraged, nor doe I see cause to repent, or dispaire of those good dayes here wch will make amends for all.

I shall expect thee next somer (if the Lord please) & by that tyme I hope to be provided for thy comfortable entertainment. My most sweet wife, be not disheartened; trust in the Lord, & thou shalt see his faithfullnesse.

Commende me heartyly to all o^{r} kinde friends, at Castleins, Groton Hall, Mr Leigh & his wife my neighb^{r} Cole & all the rest of my neighb^{rs} & their wives, both rich & poore.

Remember me to them at Assington hall & Codenham hall, Mr Brande Mr Alston Mr Mott & their wives, Goodm Ponde, Charles Neale &c etc. The good Lord be wth thee & blesse thee & all o^{r} children & servants.

Comend my Love to them all, I kisse & embrace thee, my deare wife, & all my children, & leave thee in his armes who is able to preserve you all, & to fulfill o^{r} joye in o^{r} happye meeting in his good tyme. Amen.

Thy faithfull husband,

Jo; WINTHROP.

I shall write to my sonne John by London.

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My deare Wife, — I wrote to thee by my brother Arthur, but I durst write no more then I need not care though it miscarried, for I founde him the olde man still; yet I would have kept him to ease my brother, but that his owne desire to returne, & the scarcitye of provisions heer, yielded the stronger reason to let him goe. Now (my good wife) let us joyne in praysinge o^r^ mercifull God, that (howsoever he hath afflicted us, both generally & particularly mine owne family in his stroke upon my sonne Henry) yet myselfe & the rest of o^r^ children & familye are safe & in health, & that he upholds o^r^ hearts that we fainte not in all o^r^ troubles, but can yet waite for a good issue. And howsoever our fare be but coarse in respect of what we formerly had, (pease, puddings & fishe, being o^r^ ordinary diet,) yet he makes it sweet & wholesome to us, that I may truely say I desire no better; Besides in this, that he beginnes wth us thus in affliction, it is the greater argument to us of his love, & of the goodnesse of the worke wch we are about; for Sathan bends his forces against us, & stirres up his instruments to all kinde of mischief, so that I thinke heere are some persons who never shewed so much wickednesse in England as they have doone heer. Therefore be not discouraged (my deare Wife) by anythinge thou shalt heare from hence, for I see no cause to repente of o^r^ coming hether, & thou seest (by o^r^ experience) that God can bringe safe hether even the tenderest women & the youngest children (as he did in many diverse shippes, though the voyage were more teadi-

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ous than formerly hath been knowne in this season). Be sure to be warme clothed, & to have store of fresh provisions, meale, eggs putt up in salt or grounde mault, butter, ote meale, pease, & fruits, & a large stronge chest or 2; well locked, to keepe these provisions in; & be sure they be bestowed in the shippe where they may be readyly come by, (wch the boatswaine will see to & the quartermasters, if they be rewarded beforehande,) but for these thinges my sonne will take care. Be sure to have ready at sea 2; or 3; skillets of severall syzes, a large fryinge panne, a small stewinge panne, & a case to boyle a pudding in; store of linnen for use at sea, & sacke to bestowe among the saylers; some drinkinge vessells, & peuter & other vessells; & for phisick you shall need no other but a pound of Doctor Wright's Electuariu lenitivu, & his direction to use it, a gallon of scirvy grasse to drinke a little 5 or 6 morninges togither, wth some saltpeter dissolved in it, & a litle grated or sliced nutmege.

Thou must be sure to bringe no more companye than so many as shall have full provisio for a yeare & halfe, for though the earth heere be very fertile yet there must be tyme & meanes to rayse it; if we have corne enough we may live plentifully. Yet all these are but the meanes wch God hath ordayned to doe us good by; o^{r} eyes must be towards him, who as he can wthhould blessings from the strongest meanes, so he can give sufficient vertue to the weakest. I am so streightened wth much businesse, as can no waye satisfie myselfe in wrightinge

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to thee. The Lorde will in due tyme lett us see the faces of each other againe to o^{r} great comforte; Now the Lord in mercye blesse, guide & supporte thee; I kisse & embrace thee my deare wife. I kisse & blesse you all my deare children, Forth, Mary, Deane, Sam, & the other; the Lorde keepe you all & worke his true feare in yor hearts. The blessing of the Lorde be upon all my servants, whom salute from me, Jo; Samford, Amy &c. Goldston, Pease, Chote, &c; my good freinds at Castlins & all my good neighb^{rs}, goodman Cole & his good wife, & all the rest;

Remember to come well furnished wth linnen, woollen, some more beddinge, brasse, peuter, leather bottells, drinkinge hornes &c; ley my sonne provide 12 axes of severall sorts of the Braintree Smithe, or some other prime workman, whatever they coste, & some Augers great & smale, & many other necessaryes wch I cant now thinke of, as candles, sope, & store of beife suett, &c. once againe farewell my deare wife.

Thy faithfull husband.

Jo; WINTHROP.

CHARLTON in N; England, July 23, 1630.

MY DEARE WIFE, — The blessings of God all-sufficient be upon thee & all my deare ones wth thee for ever.

I prayse the Good Lord, though we see much mortalitye sicknesse & trouble, yet (such is his mercye) my selfe & children, wth most of my family are yet livinge & in health & enjoye prosperity enough, if the Affliction of o^{r} brethren did

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not hold under the comfort of it. The Lady Arbella is dead, & good Mr Higginson, my servant old Waters of Neyland & many others. Thus the Lord is pleased still to humble us, yet he mixes so many mercyes wth his corrections, as we are perswaded he will not cast us off, but in his due tyme will doe us good, accordinge to the measure of o^r^ Afflictions. He stayes but till he hath purged o^r^ corruptions, & healed the hardnesse & error of o^r^ hearts, & stripped us of o^r^ vaine confidence in this arme of flesh, that he may have us relye wholly upon himselfe. The French shippe so longe expected & given up for lost, is now come safe to us, about a fortnight since, havinge been 12 weekes at sea, & yet her passengers beinge but fewe) all safe & well, but one; & her goats, but 6 livinge of 18; so as now we are somewhat refreshed wth such goods & provisions as she brought, though much thereof hath received damage by wett. I prayse God we have many occasions of comfort heer, & doe hope, that o^r^ dayes of Affliction will soone have an onde, & that the Lord will doe us more good in the ende, then we could have expected, that will abundantly recompense for all the trouble we have endured. Yet we may not looke at great thinges heer. It is enough that we shall have heaven though we should passe through hell to it. We heer enjoye God & Jesus Christ. Is not this enough? What would we have more? I thanke God, I like so well to be heer, as I do not repent my cominge; & if I were to come againe I would not have altered my course, though I had

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foreseen all these Afflictions. I never fared better in my life, never slept better, never had more content of minde, wch comes meerly of the Lord's good hande, for we have not the like meanes of these comforts heer wch we had in England. But the Lord is all sufficient, blessed be his holy name. If he please, he can still upholde us in this estate; but if he shall see good to make us partakers wth others in more Affliction, his will be done. He is o^{r} God, & may dispose of us as he sees good.

I am sorrye to parte wth thee so soone, seeing we meet so seldome & my much business hath made me too ofte forgett mundayes & frydayes. I longe for the tyme, when I may see thy sweet face againe & the faces of my deare children. But I must breake off & desire thee to comende me kindly to all my good friends & excuse my not writinge at this tyme. If God please once to settle me I shall make amends. I will name nowe but such as are nearest to thee, my broth. & sister Gostlin; m^{r}. Leigh, etc., Castleins, my neigh. Cole & his good wife, wth the rest of my goode neighbors tenants & servants. The good Lord blesse thee, & all o^{r} children & famyle. so I kisse my sweet wife & my deare children & rest thy faithfull husband

Jo. Winthrop.

I would have written to Maplested if I had tyme. Thou must excuse me & remember me kindly to them all.

This is the 3' lre I have written to thee from n. england.

Sept. 9, 1630.

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To Mar; Win; the Elder at Groton.

My Sweet Wife, — The blessinge of the Almighty be upon thee & thine forever.

There is a shipp arrived at Plimouth, some 30; miles from us, wch came from London the 10th of August, & was 12 weekes at sea in such tempests as she spent all her mastes; yet of 60 passingers she lost but one. All the rest (through the Lords great mercy) are safe & in health. Edy of Boxted, who came in her tould me a fortnight since that he had many Lres in the shippe for me, but I heer not yet of them, wch makes me now (havinge opportunity to send to Plimouth) to write these fewe lines to thee, least the shippe should be gone before I have received my Lres, & can returne answeare to them. Thou shalt understand by this how it is wth me since I wrote last (for this the 3; or 4th Lre I have written to thee since I came hether) that thou maiest see the goodnesse of the Lord towarde me, that, when so many have dyed, & many yet languish, my selfe & my children are yet livinge & in health. Yet I have lost 12 of my family. viz. Walters & his wife & 2 of his children; m^{r} Gager & his man; Smith of Buxall & his wife & 2 children; the wife of Taylor of Haverill & their childr; my sonne H. makes the 12; And, — besides many other of lesse note as Jeff; Ruggle of Sudbury & divers others of that towne (about 20) the Lord hath stripped us of some principale persons; Mr Johnson & his Lady, Mr Rossiter, Mrs Philips & others unknowne to thee. We conceive that this disease grew from ill diet at sea, &

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proved infectious. I write not this to discourage thee, but to warne thee & others to provide well for the sea & by Gods helpe the passage wilbe safe & easy how longe so ever. Be carefull (I intreate thee) to observe the directions in my former Lres, & I trust that that God who hath so gratiously preserved & blessed us hetherto, will bringe us to see the faces of each other wth abundance of joye. My deare wife, we are heer in a paradise. Though we have not beef & mutton etc., yet (God be praysed) we want them not; o^{r} Indian Corne answears for all. Yet here is fowle & fish in great plenty. I will here breake off, because I hope to receive Lres, from thee soone, & to have opportunyty of writinge more Largely, I will say nothinge of my Love to thee, & of my Longinge desires towards thee, Thou knowest my heart. Neither can I mention salutations to my good friends, other than in gen^{l}. In my next I hope to supply all. Now the Lord o^{r} God, be wth thee. Grace & peace be wth you all. So I kisse my sweet wife, & all my deare children, & blesse you in the Lord. Farewell

Thy faithfull husband.

BOSTON IN MATTACHUSETS
NOV; 29, 1630.

JO: WINTHROP.

Thou must excuse my not writing to my sonne Jo; & other of my friends at this tyme, for I deferre it till I receive my Lres.

MY DEARE WIFE, — I have small hope that this should come to thy hands, in regard of the longe

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staye of the shippe heer, so as thou maiest be well onward of thy waye hether before these can come to England. Therefore I write little to thy selfe & my sonne & those whom I expect to see heer shortly, if it shall so please the Lorde. And blessed be his holy & glorious name that he hath so far magnified his mercy towards us, that when so many have been layd in their graves since we parted, yet he hath pleased to preserve us unto this hope of a joyfull meetinge, that we may see the faces of each other againe, the faces of o^{r} children & sweet babes. These thinges I durst scarce thinke off heertofore, but now I embrace them ofte & delight my heart in them, because I trust, that the Lord o^{r} God, who hath kept me & so many of my Company in health & safety amonge so many dead corps, through the heat of the sumer & the cold of winter & hath also preserved thee in the perill of childbirth, & upheld thy heart in the midst of so many discouragements, wth the life of all thy companye, will of his owne goodnesse & free mercye preserve us & ours still that we shall meet in joye & peace, wch I dayly pray for, & shall expect in the Lords good tyme; who still continue his favour & blessinge upon thee & o^{r} sweet babes & all thy company. For o^{r} little daughter, doe as thou thinkest best, the Lord direct thee in it. If thou bringest her, she wilbe more trouble to thee in the shipp then all the rest. I know my sister will be tender of her till I may send for her. Bring Amy & Anne Goslin wth thee if thou canst. If they come not, they will much wronge themselves. They

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need feare no want heer, if they wilbe guided by Gods word; otherwise they can looke to prosper no where. I prayse God I wante nothinge but thee & the rest of my family; Commend my Love & blessinge to them all; & to all my neighbo^{rs} & frends, but I have desired my brother Gostlin to performe that. Remember to bring juice of lemons to sea wth thee, for thee & thy company to eate wth yor meate as sauce. But of these things my sonne hath direct'o^{n}; so again I Kisse thee my sweet wife & commend thee & all o^{rs} to the Lord, & rest, thine.

Jo; WINTHROP.

March 28, 1631.

Governor Winthrop made other and careful arrangements for his wife's comfort on the journey and in her new home, through letters to his son John, who was still in England; and I think the list of the articles which he ordered to be sent to New England is interesting enough to bear repetition, and instructive as to the stores deemed necessary for colonization in those days. They can be compared with the lists sent to Madam Winthrop.

"I pray take order to make even reckoning with all before you come over, and get a good ship and forty hogsheads of meal at least, well cleansed from the bran, and laid abroad three or four days before it be packed; peas and oatmeal well dried, as much as you can; good store of dry Suffolk cheese, brought loose, or packed in very dry malt;

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butter and tried suet; sugar and fruit; pepper and ginger; store of coarse rugs both to use and sell; a hogshead of wine vinegar; and another of ver-juice, both in good casks and iron-bound. We have lost much by bad casks. Bestow everything in even hogsheads, if you can; for it will save much in the charge of freight. Bring some good oil, pitch, and tar, and a good piece of an old cable; for that which was sent is much lost. Some more cows would be brought, especially two new milch, which must be well mealed and milked by the way, and some goats, especially sheep (if they can be had). Bring some store of garlick and onions, and conserve of red roses, alum, and aloes, oiled skins, both calf and sheep, and some worsted ribbing of several sizes."

A few months later the Governor wrote again to his son: —

"Bring no provision with you but meal, and peas, and some oatmeal, and sugar, fruit, figs, and pepper, and good store of saltpetre, and conserve of red roses, and mithridate, good store of pitch, and ordinary suet and tallow. Bring none but wine vinegar, and not much of that, and be sure that the cask be good; store of oiled calve-skins of the largest; and the strongest welt leather shoes and stockings for children; and hats of all sizes. If you could bring two or three hundred sheepskins and lambskins, with the wool on, dyed red, it would be a good commodity here; and the coarsest woolen cloth (so it be not flocks) and of sad col-

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ours, and some red; millstones some two foot and some three foot over, with bracings ready cast, and rings, and mill-bills; store of shoemaker's thread and hobnails; chalk and chalk-line; and a pair or two, or more, of large steel compasses; store of coarse linen, some birdlime."

It is certainly significant of the personal habits of Governor Winthrop and his family, and in marked contrast to the ordinary customs of the times and the usual shipping-orders of the day, to find no ale, beer, wine, or spirituous drinks of any kind upon these lists, the only reference being, in the letter to his wife, of "sack to bestow on the sailors." A letter written to Sir John Cooke, his Majesty's secretary, by Thomas Wiggin, an eyewitness of what he describes, thus bears testimony to the Governor's temperance in his new home: —

"As for the Governor himselfe, I have observed him to be a discreete and sober man, givinge good example to all the planters, wearinge plaine apparell, such as may well beseeme a meane man, drinking ordinarilie water, and when he is not conversant with matters of justice, putting his hand to any ordinarye labour with his servants, ruling with much mildness."

This and other accounts all testify to his calmness, his good judgment, his open indus-

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try, and point him out to have been the man of a thousand to fill his difficult position as governor of this new colony.

Though we have no letters written by Margaret Winthrop to her husband during their separation, we have three written by her to John Winthrop, Jr., at this time, — letters so spirited, so full of good courage, so eager for the new world, in spite of the sad accounts which came to her, that they show still more fully the elements of power in her character, and do not let us "marvel as to what mettle she is made of." I give them in entirety.

My dear Son, — Blessed be our good God, who hath not failed us, but hath given us cause of most unspeakable joy, for the good news, which we have heard out of New England. Mr. Wilson had been with me before thy letters came to my hands, but brought me no letter. He speaks very well of things there, so as my heart and thoughts are there already. I want but means to carry my body after them. I am now fully persuaded, that it is the place wherein God will have us to settle in; and I beseech him to fit us for it, that we may be instruments of his glory there. This news came very seasonably to me, being possessed with much grief for thee, hearing how things went concerning thy wife's jointure. But now I have cast off that, and hope God will turn all to the best. If thou canst but send me

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over when Mr. Wilson goeth back, I shall be very, very glad of his company. If thy manifold employments will not suffer thee to go with me, I shall be very sorry for it; for I would be glad to carry all my company with me. But I will not say any more of this till I hear from thee, how things may be done. I pray consider of it, and give me the best counsel you can. Mr. Wilson is now in London, and promised me to come and see you. He cannot yet persuade his wife to go, for all he hath taken this pains to come and fetch her. I marvel what mettle she is made of. Sure she will yield at last, or else we shall want him exceedingly in New England. I desire to hear what news my brother Downing hath; for my husband writ but little to me, thinking we had been on our voyage. And thus, with my love to thyself, my daughter, and all the rest of my good friends, I desire the Lord to bless and keep you, and rest,

Your loving Mother,

MARGARET WINTHROP.

I received the things you sent down by the carrier this week, and thank my daughter for my band. I like it well. I must of necessity, make me a gown to wear every day, and would have one bought me of some good strong black stuff, and Mr. Smith to make it of the civilest fashion now in use. If my sister Downing would please to give him some directions about it, he would make it the better.

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MARGARET WINTHROP

To hir lovinge and much respected Sonne Mr. John Winthrop at Mr. Downings in Flete Strete near Flete Condite these.

My deare Sonne,— Since it hath pleased God to make a waye for me, and to give me incorage-ment for my voyage, and upholde my hart that it faynts not, I doe resolve by his assistance to cast myselfe upon him, and to goe to N; E; as spedyly as I can with convenience. Thearfore, my good sonne, let me intreate thee to take order for our goeinge as soon as thou canst, for winter wil come on apace. Yet I doe not knowe howe wee can goe weel before harvest, by resone of our provisions of corne. I did heare from my brother Tyndall, whose counsel is for to staye till the springe, but I hope to breake through that, & gette his good will. I did speak with Mr. Wilson, who was very desyrous to knowe when we went, but then I could not tell howe things would falle out at London, and could not resolve him. If he goe it must be without his wife's consent, for she is more averce than ever she was. If he goe not it will disharten many that would be wiling to goe. I have bin constrayned to send to the tenants for rent, wantinge monye, but have received but a little yet. This weeke they promise to paye. They complayne of the hardnesse of the times, and would be glad to be forborne, but I tell them that my necessityes requires it, so I hope to gette in some. I thanke God my daughter came home safe, & is very welcome. I should have bine very glad to see thy selfe, but I knowe that thou art full of businesse. I heare my sister

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Downinge will come downe; I pray tell hir from me she shalbe very welcome, wch wilbe hir best intertainement; so shall Mrs. Downinge, if she pleas to bringe hir. And thus with my best affections to thyselfe, brother and sister D. I commit you to God.

Your lovinge mother,
MARGARET WINTHROP.

To hir very lovinge Sonne Mr John Winthrope at Mr. Downings house neare fleet Condite these, Londone.

LOVINGE SONNE, — I can saye little of any businesse, havinge not heard how you and the ffeffees will agree with Mr. Warren. I beinge not able myselfe to know what wilbe the best corce to take for my voyage, doe refer myselfe to you and the rest of my frends, to be gyded by your good counseles. My will is readdy, to goe as sone as may be with any conveniency. I am glad that thy selfe and the rest of my companye are willinge to accompanye me; we shall al joine together I hope, and be of one minde, to suffer what God hath layed out for us, and to reioyce together. I reioyce much to heare that Mr. Cottington beares such good affections to my daughter; I trust theare wil be a further prosedinge. I have heard him very well reported of, to be a religious man, and one of good meanes. Mr. Wilson had some speech with me aboute it, and did very much desyre to knowe hir vertues, I gave hir the best commendations that I could. I shall dayly expect his cominge, he shal be very welcome. My brother Tyndall was with me the last weeke,

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and tolde me he would be in Londone on tuesday, and so I did not send to him, knowinge he would be gone. I send up your horse this weeke, and thus with my love to my brother and sister Downinge, yourselfe and wife and all the rest of my friends, I commite you to God and rest

Your lovinge Mother

MARGARET WINTHROP.

I pray tell my daughter I thank hir for hir letter and would have written to hir but that I hope to see hir shortly at home.

As soone as I had ritten these Mr. Cottington came to see us but would not stay all night. He hath not yet made his minde knowne to my daughter, but is gone to Sudbury to Mr. Wilson. I doe veryly beleeve it wilbe a mach, and that she shalbe very happy in a good Husband. Commend me to my brother Gostlinge.

In November, 1631, Governor Winthrop made these entries in his journal: —

"*November* 2. The ship Lyon, William Peirce master, arrived at Natascot. There came in her the governor's wife, his eldest son, and his wife, and others of his children, and Mr. Eliot, a minister, and other families, being in all about sixty persons, who all arrived in good health, having been ten weeks at sea, and lost none of their company but two children, whereof one was the governour's daughter Ann, about one year and a half old, who died about a week after they came to sea.

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"4. The governour, his wife and children, went on shore, with Mr Peirce in his ships boat. The ship gave them six or seven pieces. At their landing, the captains, with their companions in arms, entertained them with guard, and divers vollies of shot, and three drakes; and divers of the assistants and most of the people, of the near plantations came to welcome them, and brought and sent, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kid, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, etc., so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England. It was a great marvel, that so many people and such a store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours warning.

"11. We kept a day of Thanksgiving at Boston."

It is easy to imagine the varied emotions that filled the Governor at this time. His rapture at the reunion with his beloved wife was tempered by grief at the death and burial at sea of the little daughter whom he had never seen, yet dearly loved, and the fuller details of the death of his son Forth. His rejoicing and thanksgiving with the plentiful store sent in to honor the new arrivals must have been sobered by the thought of the terrible want and distress of the past year in the colony. His pride and ever-present love of form and ceremony, which existed even under the most adverse circumstances in those days, found gratification in the armed guard

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and the welcoming volleys of shot, and in the honoring visit of Governor Bradford from the then very distant colony of Plymouth. The presence of the enthusiastic and amiable young minister, John Eliot, was a deep satisfaction to him; and the arrival of his son, known usually as John Winthrop, Jr., must have seemed to him a tower of strength, and a deeply welcome one, — for this young man was the noble son of a noble father, and, born when the latter was but eighteen years old, was almost like a younger brother. He proved his father's efficient helper, his companion, his delight; and here may be fitly inserted the father's testimony to his son's goodness, — testimony written much later in life, of which only this imperfect portion exists, as it was published (in modernized spelling) by Cotton Mather. Mr. Robert C. Winthrop aptly terms it an exquisite fragment. Its beauty strikes me afresh each time I read it. It was written soon after the death of the Governor's daughter, Mary Dudley, in a time of many temporal troubles, and when he naturally turned to his beloved first-born for comfort.

John Winthrop to his Son.

You are the chief of two families; I had by your mother three sons and three daughters, and I had

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with her a large portion of outward estate. These now are all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone; you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things, and learn wisdom thereby, which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you; and for which this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which hath here prospered so well, through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence as I often do take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not, my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto, through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you, nor forsake you.

My son, the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for my self. But I know thy prosperity depends not on my care, nor on thine own, but upon the blessing of our Heavenly Father; neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's coun-

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tenance, through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate, as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of divine Providence together, you shall find great advantage. — The Lord hath brought us to a good land; a land, where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all, the blessings of the gospel, without the burden of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labour, therefore, my good son, to increase your thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting goodwill to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travails abroad, from being infected with the vices of those countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers). Let Him have the honor of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favour in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; he it was who saved thee in all perils; and he it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help, and many sweet children; and hath hitherto provided liberally for you all; and therefore I would have you to love him again, and serve him, and trust him

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for the time to come. Love and prize that word of truth, which only makes known to you the precious and eternal thoughts and councils of the light inaccessible. Deny your own wisdom, that you may find his; and esteem it the greatest honour to lye under the simplicity of the gospel of Christ crucified, without which you can never enter into the secrets of his tabernacle, nor enjoy those sweet things which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor can the heart of man conceive; but God hath granted unto some few to know them even in this life.

Study well, my son, the saying of the apostle, Knowledge puffeth up. It is a good gift of God, but when it lifts up the minds above the cross of Christ, it is the pride of life, and the high way to apostacy, wherein many men of great learning and hopes have perished. In all the exercises of your gifts, and improvement of your talents, have an eye to your master's end, more than to your own; and to the day of your account, that you may then have your Quietus est, even, Well done, good and faithful servant! But my last and chief request to you, is, that you be careful to have your children brought up in the knowledge and fear of God, and in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. This will give you the best comfort of them, and keep them sure from any want or miscarriage; and when you part from them, it will be no small joy to your soul, that you shall meet them again in Heaven.

The fatherly blessing of plentiful reward was indeed rendered unto this noble son. The

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Lord never forsook nor failed him. His life was of the greatest benefit to the colony. He was for many years Governor of Connecticut, and, Savage says, was the heir of all his father's talents, prudence, and virtues, and a superior share of human learning. By his second wife, Elizabeth Read, he left seven children. His first son, John, was also Governor of Connecticut, and had one daughter, who left no descendants. The second son, Waitstill, became Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts. Through his son John are descended those of John Winthrop's blood who to-day bear the name of Winthrop.

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VI

HOME LIFE IN BOSTON

No better description can be given of the little town which became Margaret Winthrop's home, than the vivid one written by a contemporary witness, William Wood, in his New England's Prospect. This author lived in Boston from the year 1629 to 1633. He says, —

"Boston is two miles north-east from Roxberry. His situation is very pleasant, being a peninsula, hemmed in on the south side with the bay of Roxberry, on the north side with the Charles river, the marshes on the back side being not half a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves. Their greatest wants be wood and meadow ground, which never were in that place, being constrained to fetch their building timber and firewood from the islands in boats and their hay in lighters. It being a neck and bare of wood, they are not troubled with three great annoyances of wolves, rattlesnakes, and mosquitoes. Those that live upon their cattle must be constrained to take farms in the country, or else they cannot subsist; the place being too small

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to contain many, and fittest for such as can trade into England for such commodities as the country wants, being the chief place for shipping and merchandise.

"This neck of land is not above four miles in compass; in form almost square, having on the south side, on one corner, a great broad hill whereon is planted a fort, which can command any ship as she sails into any harbor within the still bay. On the north side is another hill equal in bigness whereon stands a windmill. To the north is a high mountain with three little rising hills on the top of it whereof it is called the Tra-mount. From the top of this mountain a man may overlook all the islands which lie before the bay, and descry such ships as are upon the sea-coast. This town although it be neither the greatest nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented, being the centre of the plantations, where the monthly Courts are kept. Here likewise dwells the Governor. This place hath very good land affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens, having likewise sweet and pleasant springs."

This "high mountain" was only about one hundred and thirty-eight feet in altitude above the sea-level, and was in rear of where the State House now stands. The eastern cone of the "Tramount" was where now is Pemberton Square; the western near Louisburg Square. "The great broad hill," with "loud babling guns," was Fort Hill; the windmill hill was

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Copp's Hill. The peninsula was only about eight hundred acres in extent, half the size of its present area. Being "invironed by brinish flouds, saving one small Istmos," and of high elevation on the "frontice-part" near the sea, it was favorable in topography for defence against attack. Winding foot-paths, most interesting of all roadways, connected the detached dwellings, and their irregular outlines still show in Boston streets. Tradition says that Washington and Tremont Streets "follow the windings" of William Blackstone's cow.

On the eastern and more gentle slope of Beacon Hill, near the water, were soon built the new meeting-house and the market. The thatched clay houses were quickly replaced by more substantial dwellings. They clustered around the church, their spiritual and civic centre, and scattered away on either hand, northeasterly and southerly. William Coddington built the first brick house. On the main street, now Washington Street, near the site of the Old South Church, lived John and Margaret Winthrop. Upon the site of "the old corner book-store" dwelt Anne Hutchinson. Governor Bellingham and his Penelope lived where Washington Street crosses Cornhill and Brattle Street. Anne Hibbins lived

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on Milk Street, on the line of the present Devonshire Street. Governor Endicott's house stood where now are the shops on Tremont Street at the head of Court Street.

There is no more positive source of valuable information of the most reliable, most uncontrovertible form to be employed in the evolution of the social and domestic history of the New England colonists than is obtained from the inventories of the estates of the old Pilgrims and Puritans. Many of these ancient inventories still exist in the yellow and mildewed court records of the different colonies. That of the estate of Governor Winthrop which he left at his death is in the first volume of the Suffolk County Records of the Probate Court. It is fitting to be given in this story of domestic life in those days, and it is sufficiently curious and interesting in itself to be printed in full.

An Inventory of ye goods & chattels of John Winthrop Esqr. late Governor of ye Massachusetts, deceased, taken by James Johnson & William Aspinwall ye 17 of ye 2^{d} Mo. 1649.

		£	*s.*	*d.*
Imprimis in ye Garret over ye parlor in hemp & tow		00	15	00
It.	a ball of haire twine	00	03	00
It.	drumme heades	00	10	00
It.	2 paire andirons	01	10	00

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		£	s.	d.
It.	1 musket & bandill[es] 1 French carbine 1 pistol	01	04	00
It.	1 brass kettle	01	10	00
It.	3 trunks 4 chests 2 chaires	01	05	00
It.	in buckles & teretts.	00	05	00
It.	3 small measures tin & wire.	00	05	00
It.	2 leather bottles – ratrap	00	09	00
It.	3 joyners saw-plates 2 sitting wreels & broken brass	00	06	00
It.	3 cases for bottles	00	06	00
It.	a little trunk wth fish hooks	00	04	00
It.	20 tin plates	00	17	00
It.	a box wth some files	00	12	06
It.	a pipe & a pestle	00	12	06
It.	in small pieces of iron ware	01	17	00
It.	warming pan	00	08	00
It.	twine for silk & caliber moulds	01	00	00
It.	a wire & iron chaine	00	05	00
It.	1 iron pot & 2 Coopb drawers	00	05	00
It.	7 Pewter dishes 10 plates & 5 small dishes	01	12	00
It.	a stew pan a small ewer & flagon	00	06	00
It.	3 brasse & 3 pewter candlesticks	00	12	00
It.	a chamber pott close stoole & ladle	00	02	06
It.	a brass lamp 3 braces & iron pott	00	12	00
It.	Ould armour 1 pistol an iron dogg	01	05	00
It.	1 great dripping pan and 2 oldswords	00	16	00
It.	an ould iron & an iron chaine	00	09	00

In ye garret over ye hall

It.	1 ould carpet curtains & vallans	00	14	00
It.	6 cushiones 1 brass 2 long cushion clothes	00	15	08

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		£	s.	d.
It.	another ould carpet.	00	10	00
	Above ye porch.			
It.	a bed and bedsteed bolster & ould Tapestry	02	00	00

	In ye Hall Chamber			
It.	1 feather bed, bolster coverlet & 2 blankets.	02	06	00
It.	3 stools & 1 rugg	00	12	06

	In ye porch Chamber			
It.	a feather bed, bolster, a hip rugg a bedstead	03	00	00
It.	an ould table, small cob irons 3 window cushions	00	06	03

	More in ye Hall Chamber.			
It.	1 cloake	01	10	00
It.	2 sattin doublets.	02	00	00
It.	Cloth of Gold scarf & 2 belts	00	18	00
It.	1 ould black suite. 2 cloaks	03	00	00
It.	Remnant of cloth, ould silk stockings & Garters	00	11	00
It.	Tapestry covering @ 7 y^{ds} Damaske	02	00	00
It.	An old bever.	00	05	00

It.	In ye Parlor Chamber.			
It.	2 chaires. 1 doz. napkins. 1 doz. diaper 1 doz. Holland 1 doz. course – 1 old tablecloth a cupbord cloth & another table cloth	02	10	00

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		£	s.	d.
It.	table cloth & 1 plain table cloth	02	00	06
It.	1 pr of sheetes – pillow beers	02	06	00
It.	18 bands 14 cuffs 5 capps – 3 shirts–	01	12	00
It.	1 Cabinet – 1 doz. chalk lines & marked lines.	00	12	00

It.	In ye Staireway.			
It.	2 ould shirts 6 pr. course sheets. 15 table napkins – 2 pillow beers – 6 course tablecloths	02	05	06
It.	Ould clothe	00	11	00

	In ye Parlour.			
It.	One downe bed, bolsters, pillow & coverlet.	05	00	00
It.	One pr. of worsted stock: – doublet @ breeches serge	01	01	00
It.	ould ship breeches – 1 pr. stockings – cloth – Cloth coat –	02	01	00
It.	3 pr. gloves	03	07	06
It.	1 cloth suite – @ cloak – a wastcoate & another cloth suite	06	04	00
It.	2 trundle bed steads – & 1 standing bed	00	12	00
It.	1 ould stuffed coate – 1 velvet rapp – 2 pr ould stock:	00	09	00
It.	2 chests – & one pr silk garters	00	16	00
		10	08	05

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		£	*s.*	*d.*
It.	In ye Hall			
It.	1 clothe suite – cloake – & waist-coate	00	12	00
It.	1 scarlet rap – 1 sattin rap –	00	10	00
It.	a straining cloth & 2 pr. ould stockings:	00	04	08
It.	An ould cloake & coate.	01	00	00
It.	a table & carpett & ould bever	01	10	00
It.	an ould case for bottles in ye parlo^{r}	00	01	06
It.	a round white boxe & p^{r} of snuffers	00	01	04
It.	6 chaires and a cup boarde in ye hall	01	15	00
	In ye Entry.			
It.	a saw & earquebuz	00	10	00
It.	8 pewter dishes	01	00	00
	In ye Kitchen.			
	Old pewter in ye kitchen –	02	10	00
It.	4 brasse potts – 2 posnets – 1 skellet	03	00	00
It.	1 copper kettle – & brass pan. –	01	15	00
It.	1 brass kettle & possnett –	01	05	00
It.	1 pestle & mortar – 2 pewter candle-sticks	00	06	00
It.	2 pr of trammels – an iron barr	00	06	00
It.	1 small kettle & 3 spitts	00	07	00
It.	1 table 2 chaires & 2 stooles.	00	05	06
	— In ye cellar —			
It.	In lumber & a gridiron	00	14	06
It.	a stoole pan – a pair of hinges & 4 buffet stooles	00	08	00

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		£	s.	d.
It.	A water pot – a kneading trough – Soape	00	06	06
It.	Bottom of a still.	00	01	00
It.	sattin for coate & an ould carpet	02	00	00
It.	2^{C} of boardes – & a black coate.	01	00	00

— In ye Study. —

It.	2^{C} weight of leade – 2 axes – 2 adds –	01	17	04
It.	Ould iron [this line has been worn with constant folding and cannot be read]	00	12	04
It.	3 sirenges – 2 tree pans – 2 pr. gould w^{ts}	00	15	00
It.	a brasil rod garnisht wth silver	00	10	00
It.	a box wth needles, awles brass buttones	00	05	00
It.	a carbine – bandilliers one pr. small files & 16 weights	00	06	00
It.	7 iron hasps – great bullet moulds & 6 fyles.	00	07	05
It.	6 chesils, one vice, hamer, stone plate.	00	05	00
It.	3 awles, one cupboard locke, small bolte, Seyes	00	03	00
It.	an ould knife brass pistole & grafting saw.	00	04	06
It.	a pump – a leade flagon & iron meate pan	00	07	02
It.	a brest wimple & a pounde of steele	00	01	06
It.	1 ⊙ w^{t} of shot & a kettle	01	08	00

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		£	*s.*	*d.*
It.	1 ould hatt – 3 smalle stone bottles.	00	05	00
It.	6 pr. spectacles – glue 1 pr shoese.	00	05	10
It.	a tufted velvet jerkin & a worked velvet jer^{k}:	01	15	00
It.	4 pr. of wash stockings:	00	03	09
It.	6 pr. gloves – 1 shawl & twine –	00	11	05
It.	wax candles – 2 pr. oil stockings	00	07	02
It.	2 trunks – & a red skin & a pound twine –	00	08	06
It.	1 pr. shoes – pint pot – iron square –	00	04	06
It.	1 sealeskin – 3 pr. old bootes – 2 ould hatts –	00	10	00
It.	1 pr. compass, pinchers, 2 pr. of – – – – –	00	03	00
		33	02	06
		70	08	05
		103	10	11

WILLIAM ASPINWALL
JAMES JOHNSON

This inventory contains none of the possessions brought to the Governor by his fourth wife, Martha Coytmore (for there was a fourth wife, whether we quite like it or not). Her far richer belongings were inventoried in full before her marriage to him, and were her own absolute property. And as Governor Winthrop lived not two years longer than his wife Margaret, it is justifiable to take this inventory

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as a very fair showing of the household furnishings of Margaret Winthrop's home, at any rate during the last years of her life. As the scientist builds up with perfection of detail, from a few fossil bones, the vast figure of the extinct mastodon, so from this bare list of possessions, with the light cast by contemporary inventories, can we show a fairly outlined picture of this simple colonial home.

Not very luxuriously or fully furnished was it with its small share of the poor hundred pounds' worth of personal property left by this noble man as a negative monument of his self-sacrifice, his personal rectitude, his absolute devotion to the colony. The hall, which was at that day the universal name of the living room of the house, was furnished but meanly with a cupboard, six chairs, a table with a carpet (which was the term then assigned to a table-covering, not a floor-covering), a white box, a case of bottles, and a pair of snuffers. Some plate may have stood on the cupboard's head, perhaps the "stone pot tipt with silver," but none is named; nor the large cistern or ewer, which were so often found at that day in the houses of persons of good standing.

The parlor, the other large room on the ground floor, had a standing bedstead with

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down bed, bolsters, and pillows, and a coverlet; also two trundle-beds, and two chests. No hangings, no curtains, and valances to the bed are named. There were two large chambers scantily filled, the hall chamber and parlor chamber. In one was only a feather bed, bolster, coverlet, two blankets, a rug, and three stools; in the other were two chairs and a cabinet or chest holding bed and table and personal linen. The kitchen furniture was meagre, — a table, two chairs, two stools, some old pewter, a copper kettle, and a brass one, a brass pan, four brass pots, two pewter candlesticks, three posnets, which were small porringers, a skillet, a pestle and mortar, and for the fireplace only two pair of trammels, three spits, and an iron bar. To this list I think might be added some of the contents of the garret and cellar (which may have been relegated there upon the arrival of Martha Coytmore Winthrop with her more luxurious belongings), — two pair andirons, a gridiron, a brass kettle, two leather bottles (perhaps the very ones brought across the ocean by Margaret Winthrop), twenty tin plates (which were far from common in that day), some small pieces of iron ware, and an iron pot, a warming-pan, seven pewter dishes, ten plates, and five small dishes, an iron dog

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and dripping-pan, and a lamp and candlesticks of brass and pewter. This is in all but a poor outfit for a housekeeper, especially for one on whom devolved the dignified duties of keeping house for the Governor.

The Governor's study was filled with carpenter's tools, old fire-arms, and some clothing. Curiously not a book is on the list. He may not have been "prodigal in books" like his fellow-governor, Thomas Dudley; but he possessed some during his life, for we read with mingled pity and respect the list of those he bestowed upon "Harvard Colledge," —

1. A French Bible.
2. Bertholomæus de rerum natura.
3. Catechismus p Christianæ.
4. Calvini Institutio religionis Christianæ.
5. Chronologia in Livii Historiam.
6. Christianography.
7. Colloquium Wormaliense institutum.
8. The Common Prayer Booke.
9. Corwelli Comment in Proverbia.
10. Davenatii determinationes quæstionum.
11. Edmund bishop of London his doctrine & homilies.
12. Gregorii Decretalia.
13. Grasseri Comment in Apocalypsin.
14. Harris his sermons.
15. Hosee cum Thargo in Hebr.
16. Jones on Philemon & Hebrewes.

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17. Jacobi Fabrii opera.
18. Juell against Harding. / Parliament.
19. Junius in Genesin.
20. Lexicon Græcolatinum.
21. Livii Historia in 2 Tomis.
22. Ludovici homiliæ in Jonæ librum.
23. Musculus in Matthæum.
24. N. Testament with notes.
25. Page on the Lords Prayer.
26. Pashingii com^{t} in catechesin.
27. Piccolominæus de Arte definiendi et discurs.
28. Polani Comment in Danielem.
29. Polidori Historia Anglicana.
30. Randalls Sermons on the Communion.
31. Ortus Sanitatis.
32. Sibthorpes advisement to Catholickes in Ireland.
33. Sermones discipuli de Comp.
34. Speculum Spiritualium.
35. Sutton's Lectures.
36. Taylor on the parable of the Sower.
37. Theatrum terræ Sanctæ.
38. Whittakeri prælectiones disputationes.
39. The life of the Virgin Mary.

It will be seen that the house that contained this furniture was not a pretentious one,— only six rooms with lofts and garrets. The frame for it had been set up first in Watertown, then moved to Boston. We may be sure the structure was a plain one; for we recall the Governor's rebuke to Thomas Dudley for his

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over-luxurious domicile, which is thus recorded in his journal: —

"The Governour having formerly told him [Dudley] that he did not well to bestow such cost about wainscotting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard of the necessity of public charges, and for example etc. his answer now was that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was little, being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of a wainscot."

Winthrop's steward, Luxford, wrote to him, when "going on with all convenyent speed in building a house for yor worship," a letter which shows the Governor's intent of simplicity of his own residence: —

"I know that your wor. doth delite in playnnesse, and I shall not willingly digress from that rule; contrivinge it soe that, if occasio be offered, it may give content to those who delite in commodious neatnesse, not exceedinge in cost; but if for a matter of ten pounds charge a man may make it happely 50. l. better, it weare cost all saved; beside we doe now build as lokinge on a settled Commonwealth and therefore, wee looke on posterity and what may be vsefull or profitable for them; neither have I any purpose to be sumptuous or at any superfluous charge."

The house on Washington Street was certainly fairly commodious, for we learn of

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large gatherings being held in it. It stood till Revolutionary times, occupied from Rev. John Norton's day by the Old South Church as a parsonage; and its fate was to be destroyed for firewood by British soldiers, as was the row of fine buttonwoods that skirted the street.

It is somewhat the fashion of the present hour to pity the wives of the Puritan colonists, to sympathize with them in their adversities, to deplore their hard lot. In the case of Margaret Winthrop, I am sure this pity is entirely misplaced. Certainly there was never a moment, from the first hour that John Winthrop trod New England soil, even during that first year of gloom, that he ever wavered in his regard of it as home, — a home in the beginning which with zeal and affection he was making ready for his beloved wife; then as his dearly loved and constant abiding-place, the best land the sun shone on. It was a sore indignation to him that any one should "abase the goodness of this country," a wonder and a trial that any should leave it. He had, in the words of the Cambridge Agreement, "passed the seas to inhabit and continue in New England." In this apotheosis of New England, Margaret Winthrop joined. And why should she not be happy? She could, in

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her Boston home, to use the words of her noble stepson, John Winthrop, Jr., "there most glorify God and enjoy the presence of her dearest friends." She had with her constantly her heart's delight, her beloved husband, from whom she was so frequently absent in England, and from her arrival all her family save her son Deane.

That her life in Boston was an active, laborious, over-filled life we cannot doubt, — so crowded with manifold and varied household duties, similar to her housewifery in England, that but few hours were left for what we should term pleasures. She also had many cares, owing to her husband's office; for he apparently not only held the court in his house, but he also entertained the deputies, and all visitors were welcomed with simple dignity and hospitality in his home.

There were some occupations and cares which she escaped. I doubt if she brewed much household beer, for we know the Governor's temperance and his disuse of all liquor in his family, "drinking ordinarily water." She did not, for many years, have to attend to the preparation and manufacture of flax, hemp, and wool, for there were none to prepare; and I feel really thankful for it. In 1642 Winthrop wrote, "Divers houses were

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burnt this year by drying flax;" and the same year a law was passed that children "such as are set to keep cattle shall be set to some other employment, withal such as spinning upon the rock, knitting, weaving tape," etc. It was also "provided that a sufficient quantity of material, such as hemp, flax, and the like, may be raised in several towns, and tools and implements provided for working out the same." Winthrop had sent to England for a brake for hemp as early as 1634. In 1643 the author of New England's First Fruits wrote: "They are making linens, fustians, dimities, and are looking immediately to woollen goods from their own sheep." When Margaret Winthrop did resume these cares, they were varied, I suspect, by the spinning of silk-grass or Indian hemp,— much-vaunted but small-profiting products of the new world.

That the Puritan women did not, in her new home, forget or lack the things beloved of women in every day, we have abundant proof. Winthrop wrote in 1641:—

"A godly woman of the church of Boston, dwelling sometime in London, brought with her a parcel of very fine linen of great value, which she had set her heart too much upon, and had been at charge to have it all newly washed, and curiously folded and pressed, and so laid to press over night. She had

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a negro maid went into the room very late, and let fall some snuff of the candle upon the linen, so as by the morning all the linen was burned to tinder, and the boards underneath, and some stools and a part of the wainscot burned, and never perceived by any in the house, though some lodged in the chamber over head and no ceiling between. But it pleased God that the loss of this linen did her much good, both in taking her heart off from worldly comforts, and in preparing her for a far greater affliction in the death of her husband."

Poor Mrs. Peirce! we can pity her, after all these years, both for the loss of her husband and her linen, — the representation of the work of so many weary hours, and the loss of which could scarce be replaced by the scantily filled flax-fields of New England.

The methods of household lighting were likewise much influenced by the exigencies of pioneer life. It is probable that the glowing light of the fireplace formed the chief means of illumination in the dusk of the earliest days of the "Governour's Lady" in Boston, or the flickering and brilliant flame of the pine knots that formed such a plentiful and natural illuminating medium for the colonists. These, of course, had to be brought from the inland pine forests to the woodless peninsula of Shawmut. Wood, writing in his New England's Prospect, says, —

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"Out of these Pines is gotten the Candlewood that is so much spoke of which may serve as a shift amonge Poore folke but I cannot commend it for Singular good because it is something sluttish dropping a pitchy kind of substance where it stands."

Higginson said they were so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch that they burnt as clear as a torch; but Josselyn complained that they "made the people look pale."

We may be sure this candlewood did not long "serve as a shift" in the house of the dignified Governor, though Higginson wrote in 1630 that New England had then no tallow to make candles of; but candles were soon sent from England to Boston. Indeed, we find Governor Winthrop writing to his wife to bring candles with her; and he sent in 1634 to England for tallow and wick. The instinct of adaptability which developed at an earlier date, and with more force and intelligence in New England than in the Southern colonies, made the settlers of Massachusetts promptly turn to the products of the new land as substitutes for the familiar staples of Old England. With the "smell of cædar and sweet fern" on the coast of New England is a still spicier perfume, that of the bayberry bushes,

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whose leaves as well as fruit give forth a pure clear scent. From these little insignificant green berries the settlers learned to manufacture an inflammable wax, that in the beginning supplemented, and for a century and a half augmented, the store of tallow in the household. These berries were gathered in vast quantities, and were boiled till the wax was expressed. It was then hardened into pale green candles, which in burning still cast on the air the pure and spicy fragrance.

As domestic cattle grew and multiplied under the thoughtful and watchful care of the colonists, they furnished not only the grateful, fresh animal food, but the welcome tallow, which was truly one of the household riches of New England until our own day, when mineral oils and gases have rendered the every-day use of candles obsolete.

From another native of the soil, the ever-present milkweed, the settlers gathered a silvery "silk down," which we learn from the Winthrop letters was sometimes "spun grosly into candlewicke." This silk down also replaced the English store of feathers, being used to stuff pillows and bolsters.

The methods of cooking varied somewhat from those of England, and were especially influenced by the change in food supplies.

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English wheat no longer afforded the staff of life. Guinney wheat, or turkey-wheat, or Indian corn, as it was variously called, took its place, and was to the colonists a true godsend, for its abundance and facile production saved them from starvation. They learned, of course, Indian ways of cooking it, as well as of planting, nourishing, harvesting, and grinding it. The names suppawn, pone, samp, succotash, hominy, are all Indian, as are the methods of cooking these dishes. Hasty pudding received an English name, but it was an Indian dish. I do not doubt that cooking receipts in general were much simplified by the acquisition of the simpler Indian ways of cooking. For years the colonists pounded corn in stone mortars, as did the Indians; then querns were used. Pompions, or pumpkins, were a companion food of corn. Johnson says it was a fruit the Lord fed his people with till corn and cattle increased. The colonists dried pumpkins for winter use, as did the Indians.

Margaret Winthrop never had to taste the bitterness of privation, to know the lack of food, as did the women colonists that first bitter year of John Winthrop's in New England. By 1634 Wood could write, in his New England's Prospect: —

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"The ground affords very good kitchen-gardens for turnips, parsnips, carrots, radishes and pumpions, musk melons, isquoukersquashes, cucumbers, onions; and whatsoever grows well in England grows well here, many things being better and larger. There is likewise growing all manner of herbs for meat and medicine, and that not only in planted gardens but in the woods, without either the art or help of man, as sweet marjoram, parsley, sorrel, pennyroyal, yarrow, myrtle, saxifarilla, bayesh. There is likewise strawberries in abundance, very large ones, some being two inches about, one may gather half a bushel in a forenoon; in other seasons there be gooseberries, billberries, raspberries, treacleberries, hurtleberries, currants, which being dried in the sun are little inferior to those our grocers sell in England."

Higginson stated, even before Winthrop came, that the Governor (Endicott) had good store of pease growing in his garden.

There were some years of comparative scarcity. Winthrop wrote in 1642: —

"Corn was very scarce all over the country, so as by the end of the 2d month, many families in most towns had none to eat, but were forced to live of clams, muscles, cataos, dry fish, etc., and sure this came by the just hand of the Lord, to punish our ingratitude and covetousness. For corn being plenty divers years before, it was so undervalued,

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as it would not pass for any commodity; if one offered a shop keeper corn for any thing, his answer would be, he knew not what to do with it. So for laborers and artificers; but now they would have done any work, or parted with any commodity for corn. And the husbandman, he now made his advantage, for he would part with no corn, for the most part, but for ready money or for cattle, at such a price as should be 12*d.* in the bushel more to him than ready money. And indeed it was a very sad thing to see how little of a public spirit appeared in the country, but of self-love too much. Yet there were some here and there, who were men of another spirit, and were willing to abridge themselves, that others might be supplied. The immediate causes of this scarcity were the cold and wet summer, especially in the time of the first harvest; also, the pigeons came in such flocks, (above 10,000 in one flock,) that beat down, and eat up a very great quantity of all sorts of English grain; much corn spent in setting out the ships, ketches, etc.; lastly, there were such abundance of mice in the barns, that devoured much there. The mice also did much spoil in orchards, eating off the bark at the bottom of the fruit trees in the time of the snow, so as never had been known the like spoil in any former winter. So many enemies doth the Lord arm against our daily bread, that we might know we are to eat it in the sweat of our brows."

Yet Margaret Winthrop could write, at this very time of distress, to her son in England:

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"When I think of the troublesome times and manyfolde destractions that are in our native Countrye, I thinke we doe not pryse oure happinesse heare as we have cause, that we should be in peace when so many troubles are in most places of the world."

That important element of daily life, domestic service, was well provided for in the colonies from the earliest days. Winthrop tells of the large number of servants he took with him to keep up his proper appearance in his station in life. Wood, in his New England's Prospect, written in 1634, says, —

"It is not to be feared that men of good estates may doe well there; always provided that they goe wel accomodated with servants. In which I would not wish them to take over many; tenne or twelve lusty servants being able to manage an estate of two or three thousand pound."

He also says: "There is as much freedom and liberty for servants as in England, and more too . . . therefore let no servant be discouraged from the voyage that intends it."

We cannot know how large a household of domestics the Governor had, but we know what manner of maids they were, — God-fearing, east-county, English countrywomen; respectable, I am sure, and possibly of very decent birth, for at that day the daughters of

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well-to-do farmers went into the families of friends and neighbors as "help," and were even in that day called help, but were termed servants also, for neither the name nor calling of servant was then in disesteem. In 1633 there were admitted to the First Church of Boston, Elizabeth Wybert, William Browne and Thomasine, his wife, all servants of "our brother John Winthrop the elder." Marie Hudd, his servant, joined the same church in 1634. In 1639 Johanna King, another of his maidservants, also was gathered under Pastor Wilson's care. These Protestant Christian girls, fellow church-members of Margaret Winthrop, must have served her to her great content; but there were other elements of domestic service. There were Indian brothers to be civilized and utilized, whose half-savage offices, even were they "praying Indians," may not have proved wholly helpful. In the court records of the year 1634 we find this entry: "There is leave granted to the Deputy-Governor John Winthrop Esqr and John Winthrop, Junior, each of them to entertain an Indian apiece as a household servant." Forty-eight women and children were sold in Boston at one time in the year 1637. Some of these children of the wildwoods ran away from the refinements of civili-

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zation, and when caught were returned, and taught an additional proof of the refinement of their masters, — they were branded on the shoulder. Some, to prevent further escape, were sold to the tropics. In Governor Winthrop's will other Indians are named as farm-servants. I don't know how Margaret Winthrop liked this Indian servant. Her friend, Hugh Peter, wrote somewhat despitefully of his wife's tawny help. A letter from another friend, William Baulstone, conveys a depressing notion of Indian service. I find nothing to indicate that John Winthrop had any negro servants, — "Moores" they were called.

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VII

SOCIAL LIFE IN BOSTON

We have seen what manner of home life Margaret Winthrop had in Boston. Let us regard the social aspect of her Boston days. For the matter of general friendly intercourse, she had a far more peaceful and uniformly congenial circle than she could have known in her English home; for in New England the tastes, sympathies, interests, and, until Anne Hutchinson's day, the religion of the entire community were universal, not divided. It was a circle of concentrated residence, an aggregated community,— not widely scattered, as in English county life. It afforded intellectual companionship through the goodly proportion of college-bred men, far larger in actual number than could have been termed her neighbors in Groton. Of the forty or fifty Cambridge and Oxford men who were in Massachusetts up to the year 1639, Mr. Dexter says one half were seated within five miles of Boston or Cambridge. By 1647 a

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hundred university men had cast their lot with the colony. Of these two thirds were from Cambridge, particularly Emanuel College, where they had known many men of mark. John Harvard, Roger Williams, Henry Dunster, John Norton, Thomas Shepheard, had been fellow-students with John Milton and Jeremy Taylor; President Chauncey had been in college with George Herbert; Wheelwright had been contemporary with Cromwell. These men and their wives could not fail to form an intellectual and congenial social circle.

Among them were many who were old friends, who lived near the Winthrops in their English home. Rev. George Phillips, of Watertown, had been a minister at Boxsted in Essex; Rev. Nathaniel Rogers was born in Dedham, Essex; Rev. John Fiske was of the Framlingham Fiskes of Suffolk; John Sherman was from Ipswich; Ezekiel Rogers was born at Wethersfield in Essex; Nathaniel Rogers was from Dedham in Essex; Nathaniel Ward was from Haverhill in Suffolk; his son John Ward had a living in Hadleigh, not far from Groton.

In Roxbury were many of the "Nazing Pilgrims." These were the settlers from Nazing, a little village in Essex County, not far from

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Margaret Winthrop's early home at Great Maplestead. The birthplace of John Eliot was also near Nazing. The first Nazing Pilgrims, including Eliot, came in the ship with the Governor's wife. The names of Pierpont, Craft, Heath, Curtis, Bowles, Denison, Gore, Weld, Brener, Grosvenor, Hewes, Gookin, Morris, and Trumbull were honored in that day, and are honored in their descendants.

What manner of men these were in general who bore John Winthrop company, and who settled in Massachusetts Bay, is well known to us. Their social condition is given clearly by so thoughtful and fair an authority as Green, in his History of the English People. He says, —

"These Massachusetts settlers were not, like the earlier colonists of the South, 'broken men,' adventurers, bankrupts, criminals, or simply poor men and artisans like the Pilgrim Fathers of the Mayflower. They were, in great part, men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some zealous clergymen, some shrewd London lawyers or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the eastern counties."

I think we may approve with confidence this estimate of the Massachusetts Bay colonists, though the other clauses may give offence to

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the modern spirit of tender sentiment which haloes the Pilgrim Fathers, or the equally strong spirit of romance which idealizes the Virginian planters.

Rev. Joseph Hunter, a London clergyman and antiquary, examined with care the Candler Papers in the Harleian Library of the British Museum, to learn the genealogy and standing of the Suffolk families who emigrated to New England from the county of Suffolk. He says, in a summing up, —

> "The Suffolk emigration consisted very much of persons who were men of substance and good alliances . . . will-making families, families high in the subsidy-books, while some of them, as the Winthrops, were among the principal gentry of the county, and several claimed the distinction of coat-armour, while the divines were all graduates of the Universities."

Even Chalmers, a prejudiced judge, says: "The principal planters of Massachusetts were gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition concealed under the appearance of religious humility." I do not know that, after all, it matters much who or what they were in Old England, when we know so well what they and their children became in New England.

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It has been said that the life of the early settlers, especially of the wives, was intolerably dull. Margaret Winthrop's life was certainly stirring, for we must remember that she saw everything that happened in the little town, — too much perhaps. The courts met in her house, foreign visitors came there, and Indian ambassadors there held meetings, and sent tribute of wampum, scalps, and more gruesome spoils. Foreign ships came in at the foot of the street, bringing in rich stores and sometimes strange gifts,— once an "aligarto" for the Governor. The church was under her very eyes, and, alas! the stocks, cage, and whipping-post. Near her was the market in State Street; and not far away the first post-office, established in 1639 by this order of the General Court, —

"It is ordered that notice be given that Richard Fairbanks, his house in Boston, is the place appointed for all letters, which are brought from beyond seas or sent thither, are to be brought unto him, and he is to take care that they bee delivered or sent according to their directions; provided that no man shall be compelled to bring his letters thither except he please."

Around the Governor's house as a centre revolved the town, almost the colony; it was the original "hub." I cannot believe Margaret

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Winthrop was ever lonely; she was far more in danger of nervous exhaustion from over-excitement,— not the excitement of anything like modern social life, but a life crowded with a series of interesting, novel, but doubtless wearisome incidents.

The unerring genius of Hawthorne has given to us a striking picture of life in Boston at that time, in the pages of the Scarlet Letter. The chapters entitled A New England Holiday and The Procession have ever formed for me the social atmosphere of the Boston of Winthrop's time. Hawthorne, with his quickened vision, penetrated through the cold-gray and sombre clouds that characterized the mood and enveloped the manners of the second and third generations of Puritan New Englanders, and saw clearly back to that first generation whose numbers had not all been born to an inheritance of Puritan soberness, whose fathers had lived in the joyous and glowing sunlight of the Elizabethan epoch, had known how to be merry in their day. A heritage of the love of pomp and magnificence which characterized that day still tinged the life of the first New England settlers, and found diluted expression in their military processions and training-days, in the recreation of election-day, the installation of the magis-

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trates. This outward state of show was to the Englishman the proper garb of eminence and worth; and as he had an habitual and universal quality of reverence (which his descendants lost when they became native-born Americans), and as the comparatively large body of military (often fifteen hundred men) drilled by officers who had seen service in the Low Countries, afforded plenty of material to make a dignified showing, I feel that these New England holidays of Margaret Winthrop's day were, on the whole, notable and impressive gatherings. Even the gay trappings of these colonial soldiers, their burnished armor and breastplates, their bandeliers and corselets and gorgetts, their great pikes and muskets, gave to them a brilliancy of aspect which their successors, albeit of ancient and honorable fame, can never hope to rival, and which must have proved most stirring to the hearts of women and children who stood on that ancient training-field, the Common, and viewed the military evolutions.

The colonies did not lack for brilliant visitors. Margaret Winthrop met in her day many interesting sojourners in Boston, whose names are well known to history. Among these was Sir Harry Vane. This remarkable young man had begun his public life

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under most brilliant and favorable advantages, — among them his distinguished ancestry, his noble family connections, and his father's many high state offices, such as Ambassador Extraordinary, Member of Parliament, Treasurer of the Royal Household, and Secretary of State. The only wonder is that his character could have formed in the court under circumstances apparently so little likely to develop such noble traits. His piety, brilliancy of mind, and love of liberty and humanity were shown at a very early age. He said himself that at the age of fifteen "God was pleased to lay the foundation of repentance in me." He declined to take the oath of allegiance at Oxford, thus forfeiting his membership of the University. A visit in Holland and at Geneva strengthened his disapprobation of the ecclesiastical condition of England, especially his aversion to the ceremonies of the Church; and the power of Church and State was brought fruitlessly to bear upon him to make him yield his belief. At last, to relieve his father of a most equivocal position, and with the approval of King Charles, he came to Boston in 1635. The arrival of the son of the most powerful noble in the English Court was a matter of vast rejoicing to the colonists; and though he was but twenty-four years of

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age, he was soon elected Governor. But his administration was brief, stormy, and perplexing. His trials began in attempting to adjust the question of flying the King's colors at the fort. The cross on the ensign was held by the Puritans to be idolatrous, had been cut out of the flag by stern Endicott, and, in fact, there were no royal flags to be found in Massachusetts at that time. The captains of English vessels in port offered to give one to the government. The Court ordered the flag to be displayed on the fort, but the ministers decided that the magistrates had erred in thus ordering; and at last the flag was floated on the personal responsibility of Governor Vane and the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Dudley. Sir Harry Vane's stand in the Antinomian controversy led to vast dissensions in the government, and, perhaps fortunately, he returned to England in 1637. His interest in the colony continued through his life. He obtained the deed of Rhode Island and the first charter of that colony. His career as a statesman was most remarkable, and his glorious life was ended by being beheaded as a traitor, a Regicide. He was ever a warm friend to New England; and Winthrop, with whom he had differed mightily while they both were trying to adjust political and reli-

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gious matters in Boston, did not fail to give him his just dues and meed of praise.

With another Regicide, Hugh Peter, Margaret Winthrop was intimately acquainted. He was step-father of the wife of John Winthrop, Jr. He was a man of extraordinary energy, which showed in the spirit of commercial enterprise which he fostered in his Salem home, encouraging the building of ships, the establishment of fishing-companies, etc. He was a brilliant creature, emotional, eloquent, but with the eloquence of temporary excitement, not of powerful reason and deep feeling. He was subject, like many men of his temperament, to fits of "hypocondrical melancholy," and equally subject to passionate impulses of bravery as well as of affection. After five years' preaching in the Salem Church, he returned to England, and became Chaplain to Cromwell, at whose funeral he was honored by walking beside Milton. His life was ended at the Restoration, in one of the most shocking and bloody scenes ever seen on an English scaffold. Widely varying estimates have been made of his character. For myself I incline to Palfrey's rather than Lowell's; and I am sure, whatever else he was, that he was a genial, cordial companion, and that he and his wife were on intimate terms with

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the Boston Winthrops, as sundry sentences in Lucy Downing's letters show.

Roger Williams was another extraordinary man whom Margaret Winthrop knew and loved, as did her husband. A gentle, affectionate, tormenting creature, "conscientiously contentious," he was cheerfully belligerent, and never shared the wrath he provoked. He never was angry with persons, though sometimes with things; but wherever he went he stirred up strife, and still he was everywhere beloved. It might be said of him, as of the Puritan John Lilburn, he would have fought and differed with himself if he could find no one else, would have divided himself in two and let the Roger fight with the Williams. Yet he was a magnanimous, benevolent, consistent Christian, whose goodness Winthrop knew and honored. He is often spoken of as a victim of religious liberty. He was a victim of his meddlesome attempt at interference with the charter; and it is an indication of Winthrop's true affection that he let any one who meddled with that beloved charter escape the colony unpunished. He sent advice to Williams when the latter fled on his way to Rhode Island, and during their lives their friendship never ceased; and in the pursuance of this friendship to Winthrop and Massachu-

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setts, Roger Williams was equally generous and always self-sacrificing, even risking his life in mediating with the Indians. The intimacy between Roger Williams and his wife and John Winthrop, Jr., and his wife Elizabeth, was renewed by frequent meetings; and the betrayal of his affection for them in his letters is tender and beautiful to read.

The grotesque is seldom absent from history, and Margaret Winthrop saw some amusing characters in Boston to break the dead-level of gravity, though I suspect they were too tormenting to seem to her amusing. One, a "roguish valiant," fit for Shakespeare's comedies, was Captain John Underhill, — libertine, buffoon, and brave soldier, — a sort of compound of Friar Tuck and Ancient Pistol.

He had fought under the Prince of Orange in the War of the Netherlands, and I am afraid he had not found it a very good school of virtue. He was drill-master for the Massachusetts Army, and he did some very good fighting for the colony against the Pequot Indians; for that let us render him grateful thanks. But on the lists of love his record is not so honorable. Think what a scene this was for Margaret Winthrop to witness in the little Boston meeting-house. I give her husband's graphic account of the affair: —

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"Captain Underhill being brought by the blessing of God in this church's censure of excommunication, to remorse for his foul sins, obtained, by means of the elders and others of the church of Boston, a safe conduct under the hand of the governour and one of the council to repair to the church. He came at the time of the court of Assistants, and upon the lecture-day, after sermon the pastor called him forth and declared the occasion and then gave him leave to speak; and indeed it was a spectacle which caused many weeping eyes, though it afforded matter of much rejoicing to behold the power of the Lord Jesus in his ordinances, when they are dispensed in his own way, holding forth the authority of the regal sceptre in the simplicity of the gospel. He came in his worst clothes (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness) without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes; and standing upon a form, he did, with many sighs and abundance of tears, lay open his wicked course, his adultery, his hypocrisy, his persecution of Gods people here, and especially his pride (as the root of all which caused God to give him over to his other sinful courses) and contempt of the magistrates. . . . He spake well save that his blubbering interrupted him, and all along he discovered a broken and melting heart and gave good exhortations to take heed of such vanities and beginnings of evil as had consumed his fall, and in the end he earnestly and humbly besought the church to have compassion of him and to deliver him out of the hands of Satan."

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Strange it is to gather from this account that Winthrop half believed in the genuineness of this theatrical exhibition of repentance, really trusted in this vain gallant's reformation. Stranger still, since this was the third time the Captain had been through the same exhibition of repentance, the second time kneeling down before an injured husband, in the presence of the elders, and asking forgiveness for sore wrong-doing. Truly these were strange sights for gentle and refined English ladies to witness, and strange words for them to hear; but it did not jar so loudly on a generation that both in England and America frequently witnessed public punishment by whipping, pillory, or the cage; or even attended, without thought of being enough shocked to forego the excitement, a public hanging on the scaffold.

Adventurers ever flock to newly discovered and unknown shores. Boston had her share of visitors of that ilk. Faring gayly up and down the world, there came to that little town in 1636 one Captain Cromwell, a jolly, generous vagabond, and he was well treated during his stay by "one of the poorer sort." He sailed away, and after ten years of free-booting on the high seas the gay gailliard came again into Boston port, with three

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cedar ships rich with Spanish prizes, and he promptly went to the humble home — "a poor thatched house" — of the poor man who had erstwhile befriended him in the days of his poverty. He "spent liberally and gave freely." Bradford says: "He scattered a great deale of money and more sine I feare than money." He had great store of plate and jewels, and he gave Governor Winthrop a fair sedan chair worth £50, which had been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to his sister; and Winthrop turned it to good advantage later in his diplomacy with the Governor of Acadia. Cromwell liked Boston so well that he announced it his choice as an abiding-place; but the restless Captain was soon off again privateering or pirating, whichever you choose to call it, and was absent three years. Bradford says "he tooke sundry prises, and returned rich unto the Massachusetts, and ther dyed the same somer, having gott a fall from his horse in which fall he fell on his rapier hilts, and so bruised his body as he shortly after dyed." It is one of the curious inconsistencies of that age, the freedom allowed a sailor both on sea and on land. A privateersman, in full career of his reckless life, was neither disreputable to deal with in a business way, nor to associate with in social life.

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Margaret Winthrop saw also in Boston that arch-fanatic, Samuel Gorton, a clothier from London, who was said to represent "the very dregs of Familism." As this description means little to us to-day, I will briefly explain that Familism was the religious doctrine of the powerful sect called the Family of Love, founded in the sixteenth century in England and Holland by one Hans Nicholas, who was called the Prophet of Love, while Moses was the Prophet of Hope, and Christ the Prophet of Faith. The sect was prohibited by Queen Elizabeth in 1580, but had fanatical followers for a century later. Those who wish to know exactly what Samuel Gorton believed may read his Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy, An Incorruptible Key composed of the CX Psalm, etc., and other interminable expositions of his faith and fancy; and perhaps may understand him, though I may say frankly that I could not what portions I read. To quote Carlyle: "By human volition his writings can be read, but not by human memory remembered." And yet these and similar wanderings were listened to by our sainted ancestors as to indisputable messages from Heaven itself. Gorton came to Boston in 1636; then went to Plymouth, whence he was expelled; then to Rhode

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Island, where he was whipped for calling the magistrates Just-asses; then finally he settled down upon poor Roger Williams and his community. But he had a civic controversy with the Massachusetts authorities with regard to some lands, and with eight of his friends and followers was seized and brought to Boston. The nine captives were brought to the Governor's house in military order, the soldiers in two files, while every sixth soldier held a prisoner. And the commissioners went within the Governor's door and saluted him, and he went forth and down the files of soldiers with great rejoicing, welcoming them home, and blessing God for their preservation, and thanking them for their good work and good courage, and asking a list of their names for record. And then the prisoners were brought into the Governor's hall, where there was a great assembly, and the Governor lectured them roundly as a prelude to a trial.

No lack of excitement in all this to Margaret Winthrop, and within her very doors. And the following Sunday the prisoners "would not come to meeting, so the magistrates determined they should be compelled." This was according to the perverse and futile custom of our fathers, of trying to force the orthodox religion on every one who chanced to be in

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Boston. It came, I suspect, partly through the trusting confidence in the power of the Puritan ministers to convert every one. The prisoners finally came, and Gorton got up after the sermon and talked back to the minister in a startling way, if Bostonians in that day could be startled at anything in meeting. And then the prisoners were tried, and the record of the trial and its legal aspect is curious to read. At last they were sentenced to be dispersed into several towns, and set to work for their living, each with irons on one leg, and not to maintain any of their blasphemous errors upon pain of death. But at the next court the sentence was judiciously changed: they were banished, for men of that make could never be kept silent; and it was found that they did corrupt some of the people by their heresies, "especially the women," — and there was no room in Boston for more prophets of Anne Hutchinson's stamp. It seemed rather unreasonable to pronounce banishment on them, instead of permitting them to depart in peace, since they had been haled there by force, and had never shown inclination to stay in any other condition than banished. In addition, the government sent out and seized enough of the prisoners' cattle to pay to soldiers, court, and prison the expense of

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it all, which seems a somewhat arbitrary action towards persons who claimed that they were out of Winthrop's jurisdiction. But, after all that, Gorton tormented Winthrop no more in person.

Life in the first settlements was most picturesque, far more so than it proved to the next generation. The jostling of civilization with a new race, with barbarism, but with a barbarism which to Margaret Winthrop in her home and day never showed its savagery close at hand, could not have been very terrifying nor even obnoxious.

The daily life of Boston dames was varied in a strange, outlandish fashion by the sight of the "tawnies" brought to trial, ofttimes for petty offences such as drunkenness; and in the court they bore themselves with native dignity, and, as Spenser said of the Irish, "were soe cautelous and wylie-headed beinge of soe small experience and practize in lawe matters, that you would wonder whence they borrowe such subtilytyes and slye shiftes."

And the dusky warriors came also as visitors, radiant in barbaric paint and skins and feathers. We get a glimpse of domestic life and rather shiftless housekeeping in the account of one such visit, — that the Indians

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slept on the kitchen floor round the fire, and that the next day the chickens and hens, coming in to take their wonted feed of corn and crumbs under the kitchen table, speedily went out in the yard and died; and of course it was at once determined that the Indians had bewitched or poisoned the poultry. In truth, they had killed them, though unwittingly; for the greedy fowl had devoured so much deer's-hair that had fallen from the warriors' garments, that they had died thereof.

The sachems Miantonomuh, Uncas, and others came with their squaws. The Governor wrote at some length of one such visit to his house, shortly before Margaret Winthrop arrived in Boston: —

"Chickatabot came with his sannops and squaws and presented the governour with a hogshead of Indian corn. After they had all dined, and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco, he sent away all his men and women though the governour would have stayed them in regard of the rain and thunder. Himself and one squaw and one sannop stayed all night, and being in English clothes the governour set him at his own table, where he behaved himself as soberly as an Englishman. The next day after dinner he returned home, the governour giving him cheese and peas and a mug and some other small things."

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Can you not see the swarthy, saturnine, composed face of Chickatabot, behaving himself with native dignity at the dining-table, "like an Englishman," — and this was scarcely ten years after the landing of the Mayflower, — and dressed in English clothes, so quickly beloved and eagerly coveted by the red man. One of the most amusing letters in the Winthrop papers is a serious account written by Fitz-John Winthrop, of the damage to the estate of the Indian sagamore "Danyell of the Royal Indian Blood." This prince's home and possessions had been destroyed by fire; and it is comic to read, —

> "That which takes depest melancholy upon him, is ye loss of an excellent Masathuset cloth cloke and hatt which was only seen upon holy days and their generall sessions. His journy at this tyme is only to intreat yor favour and ye gentlemen there for a kinde reliefe in his necessety, having noe kind of a garment but a short jerkin which was charitably given him by one of his common Councill-men. He principally aymes at a cloak and hat."

Let us hope the aimed-at cloak and hat were soon forthcoming to this melancholy prince, and that he was able to strut around proudly and with royal dignity before his squaws and braves, barelegged but happy.

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The red man's notion of his own importance is thus ridiculed, in spirited derision, by a traveller in New England: —

"A sagamore with a Humberd in his eare for a pendant, a black hawk in his occiput for a plume, Mowhackers for his gold chaine, great store of wampompeage begirting his loynes, his bow in his hand, his quiver at his back, with six naked Indian spatterlashes at his heels for his guard will not stick to say he is all one with King Charles."

The squaw of Chickatabot was not dressed in English clothes. Josselyn has given a very graphic account of the "female Indian, tricked up in all her bravery," which we may be sure she always wore when she visited the white man's wigwam: —

"The women, many of them, have very good features; seldom without a come-to-me or *cos amoris* in their countenance; all of them black-eyed, having even short teeth, and very white; their hair black, thick and long; broad-breasted; handsome streight bodies, and slender, considering their constant loose habit; their limbs cleanly straight and of a convenient stature — generally as plump as a partridge, and saving here and there one, of a modest deportment.

"Their garments are a pair of sleeves, of deer or moose skin drest, and drawn with lines of several colours into Asiatick works, with buskins of the

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same; a short mantle of trading-cloth, either blew or red, fastened with a knot under the chin, and girt about the middle with a zone wrought with white and blew beads into pretty works. Of these beads they have bracelets for their necks and arms and links to hang in their ears; and a fair table curiously made up with beads likewise, to wear before their breast. Their hair they combe backward, and tye it up short with a border, about two handfulls broade wrought in workes as the other with their beads."

I presume the Indian servants that worked in Boston households speedily abandoned this picturesque forest attire "wrought with pleasant wild workes," and adopted the hampering garb of civilization.

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VIII

WOMAN FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS

It is impossible for any individual to live in a community and have any social or intimate relations with other members of that community without some lasting influence being felt upon his or her life through that intimacy. So a correct knowledge of Margaret Winthrop's life cannot be obtained without due knowledge of her kinsfolk, her friends, and what would in old times be called her gossips, her woman-neighbors.

There is one woman, her sister-in-law, Lucy Downing, the wife of Emanuel Downing, and sister of Governor Winthrop, who presents to us through the medium of her letters published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a distinct individuality. She remained in England about eight years after Governor Winthrop's departure, and her letters written during that period afford in unstudied phrase some striking suggestions of

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the social condition of England at that time. Others were written from her New England home in Salem; and her later letters, also of deep interest, were written in Scotland or England, whither she and her husband returned to die. Her husband was a lawyer of the Inner Temple, London, presumably a Suffolk man, a good friend to New England in time of need, and a shrewd, sharp business man. He was married to Lucy Winthrop (his second wife) on April 10, 1622. Neither he nor she was, apparently, of the highest, most exalted type of Puritans, either in faith or works. Their oldest son, George Downing, born in 1624, is notoriously familiar to us in English history, in letters and diaries; for instance, through the pages of Pepys' Diary, wherein the diarist calls him "a perfidious rogue," a "most ungrateful villain," etc. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis calls him "a sider with all times and changes, well skilled in the common court, and a preacher sometimes to boot." Governor Hutchinson says of him that one time his name passed as a proverb in New England, that every false betrayer was said to be an "arrant George Downing." He was on the side of Parliament against Charles I., and held office under Cromwell; was sent as Ambassador to the States-General, and was

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also a soldier in Scotland, etc. He became later a traitor to his friends; and knighted Sir George, he was again Ambassador under Charles II., was a member of Parliament, and was an important factor in the bringing of New Netherlands under English dominion. He was also Secretary of Treasury and Commissioner of Customs. His parentage had been for many years vaguely known and wrongly published in English books, such as Pepys' Diary; but his mother's letters establish his family, for in them we have frequent allusions not only to his early life, but to his later career of brilliant and hated success.

Carlyle says, —

"There are various traceable small threads of relation, interesting reciprocities and mutabilities connecting the poor young Infant New England with its old Puritan mother and her affairs in those years, which ought to be disentangled, to be made conspicuous and beautiful by the Infant herself now she has grown big."

One of these traceable threads of relation which always is of romantic interest to me is to mark the various close connections of New England and Old England with regard to that thrilling episode in English history, — the public career of the Regicides. Having noted

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that Sir Henry Mildmay and John Gurdon were Regicide judges, the tie is made closer still by the long stay in Massachusetts of Sir Harry Vane and Hugh Peter; by the marriage to Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College, of the daughter of John Lisle the Regicide, and of his wife Lady Alice Lisle, who was also executed for harboring a minister accused of treason. It was cemented by the residence for many years, and death in New England, of the three Regicides, — Whalley (the cousin of Cromwell and Hampden), Colonel Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell; and finally it may still further and most ignobly be noted by the seizing at Delft by Sir George Downing, and delivery to England and the scaffold, of three Regicides named Barkstead, Olney, and Miles Corbet, one of whom had been chaplain in Downing's own regiment.

Lucy Downing was never eager for the new world. We find her writing to Margaret Winthrop in 1636, in much doubt about emigration, and displaying some of the cautious foresight which distinguished her famous son:

"I hartylie thank you for all the expressions of your love and desires of our company. I know not yet how it will please God to dispose of us. Wee are in many distractions, my present condition is vnfit for changes; and both this plauge

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and plauges aproach and increas and may well affright."

Later, to Governor Winthrop, she sent this astute though deeply affectionate letter: —

"For such of His as He pleaseth to call to other places, the faintest hearted shall find courage for the work, and her loathness shall not hinder it; but I must then deale plainlie with you, and let you know that many good people hear, and some that vnderstand new Engl. resonable well, both by sight and relations of friends, that are able to jugd, they doe much feare the country cannot afford subsistence for many people, and that if you were not supplyed of incomes from hence your lives would be very misserable; and I must confess my observation cannot confute there opinions in this, for I hear not of any commodities from thence yet, as can furnish your nessesities much less inrich you. But my dear brother, I fear all I have hitherto written will but confirme your opinion of my loathness for New En. but let it not doe so, for wear there no other thing to induce me thither but your single selfe I could not want a heart thither. And as far as I can understand myselfe could I divide my life and that it were a thing approved by God, I could willinglie spare a good share of my life to enjoy your sosietie the rest of it, althoughe it were in a condition somewhat inferior to what I now have; yet from extremities good Lord deliver me! for I have litell confidence of my self in such cases; but if wee see

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God withdrawinge His ordinances from vs here, and inlarging His presence to us there I should then hope for comfort on the hazards of the sea with our little ones shriking about vs; and that Daniels pulls should be better to vs with a Christ than all worlds of plesure without Him; and in such a case I should willinglie rather venter my childrins bodyes, and my owne for them, than their soulses; but otherwise I cannot see but it were an effect of diffidence rather than of fayth, to leap callings, estates, and conveniences, and all till wee are forced from them by some compulsion. But now you may saye I take too much upon me, I am but a wife and therefore it is sufficient for me to follow my husband; for that let me answer you, that what I say to you by way of caveat I have objected to him; that I will not deny, for I thought it my duty; but that I was ever peremptory against his going, or that I ever knew the time that he might have composed his ocasions fit for such a change with promise of comfort to himselfe or famylie or satisfaction to Christian frinds, if my will had not been his hindrance, this I vtterly deny whoever affirms it, and therefore I desire you to excuse and to credit me so far; and althoughe of myself I durst not, if I were in his case, alter my condition but upon these terms, yet if he likes to go upon other grounds if God give me life and abillities I shall endevor to be with you as soon as I may; for I should promise myself much fellicitie in such a sosietie; and the satisfaction of leaving my chilldren vnder such meanes for

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their soules and so litell bad examples as I hope will be there yet were a great abatement to my now cares."

I think this as logical and far-sighted a letter as any I have ever seen written by any woman of the seventeenth century.

Her early letters show her most earnest in wishing the establishment of a college in New England. She wrote in 1636, near the close of the year, thus to Governor Winthrop: —

"George and his father complye moste cordyally for new Eng; but poor boy I fear the journie would not be so prosperous for him as I could wish, in respect you have yet noe sosieties nor means in that kinde for the education of youths in learning; and I bless God for it he is yet reasonable hopefull in that way, and it would, I think, as wee saie, greve me in my grave to know that his mynde should be withdrawne from his booke by other sports or imployments, for that weer but the waye to make him good att nothinge. Its true the colledges here are much corrupted, yet not soe I hope but good friends may yet finde a fittinge tutor for him; and if it may be with any hopes of his well dœinge hear. Knowing your prevalency with my husband, and the hazard the boy is in by reson both of his fathers and his owne strong inclination to the plantation sports I am bould to present this sollicitous suit of myne, with all earnestnes to you and my nephew Winthrop, that you will not con-

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descend to his goinge over till he hath either attayned to perfection in the arts hear, or that there be sufficient means to perfect him therein with you, wich I would be most glad to hear of; it would make me goe far nimbler to new Eng; if God should call me to it than otherwise I should; and I beleev a colledge would put noe small life into the plantation."

Now we can never know how great an influence this earnest, intelligent, and forcible request had upon the Governor and the colony; but it is certainly a remarkable coincidence that on the 28th of October of this same year the General Court of Massachusetts agreed to give four hundred pounds towards a "schoole or colledge," and that the next court was to appoint the place of building. "Newetowne" was chosen; and in 1638 its name was changed to Cambridge, in honor of another college town in their old home. Soon after it was agreed that the college "shal bee called Harvard-Colledge."

How much of all this rapid endowment and establishment was communicated to Lucy Downing in England we cannot know, nor whether it made her "goe far nimbler" to the new land; but in November, 1638, the Downing family arrived in New England. George Downing promptly attended the new "Col-

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ledge," and was second on the list of the first class of graduates, in October, 1642. He did not long remain in his new home; his mother writes of his longing to travel, and finally he went as a preacher to the West Indies, then became a Chaplain in England, and speedily entered upon the career already told.

Lucy Downing and her husband did not settle in Boston, but built a handsome house in Salem; so after her arrival in New England there was a constant exchange between her and Margaret Winthrop, not only of affectionate letters, but of kindly gifts, the nature of which may be shown by the following extracts from Madam Downing's letters: —

"I hope some piggins are come to your hands and more had bin sent if I had a larger thinge to put them in, but if you please to return the cage it shall be filld agayne."

"I thank you I received your great dayntyes of rosewater and aples. I am much obliged to you for them; I wish I could as well deserv them."

"By Mrs Pestor I beged garlick and sage and to borrow a gander. I have 3 gooses and not a husband for them, which lost me at least 40 egs last year."

"Your lemmons were allmost as rare as drops of life. I am all the more sensible of your deprivement of them."

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Occasionally a ship landed at Boston from tropical lands bearing tropical fruits, which must indeed have been like "drops of life" to the salt-meat-fed colonists. Thomas Mayhew wrote of one (the Rebecka) in 1636:—

"Concerning the Bermuda Voyadge, and accompting the potatoes at 2d, the corne at 2s per bushell, the pork at 10 li per hogshead, orrenges and lemons at 20s per c, we shall gain twenty od pownds."

It has been surmised that these Bermuda potatoes were sweet potatoes, as the latter had been introduced into England by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins in the middle of the sixteenth century, and had acquired considerable popularity for use in sweetmeats and confections. Fifteen tons in all were sold in Boston in that year. And earlier still, potatoes were on the list of fruits and vegetables furnished in 1628. But their use for every-day food, as we use them to-day, and their cultivation in any large amount, was not until Revolutionary times, though as early as 1636 I find Lion Gardiner writing to John Winthrop showing that the raising of potatoes was certainly discussed and experimented upon.

"I pray you forgett vs not when shee comes from Bermuda with some potatoes for heare hath

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beene some Virginians that hath taught vs to plant them another way, and I have put it in practise and found it good."

These letters of Lucy Downing's convey a sense of humor, and at times much lightness of expression, as when she writes she would rather her child should be born an "Indyan than a London Coknye." Her husband set up a still in Salem, and she writes thus of his venture: —

"Our stilling I thinke might be pritty strong, but that all the rye was eaten vp allmost before the Indian was gathered. Could you but teach us how to kern rye out of the sea-watter, that intention I question not would make the still vapor as far as Pecoite, and the Indians I beleev would like that smoake very well, for the english have but two objections against it. 1 its too dear 2 not enough of it. Cure these, and we might all have employment enough at Salem, and as it is we could have custome ten times more than pay."

To kern rye was to quern, or grind it. The quern was the old-time hand-mill, in use then throughout New England as in England, as the frequent appearance of the word "cairn," "quern," or "kirn," in inventories of estates, plainly proves.

Of one trait of Lucy Downing's character I can have no doubt: she was a tidy, industrious,

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and capable housewife. Her letters abound in references to domestic thrift. She writes of her daughters: —

"I fear Luce is not diligent which I should take very ill from her and for a presage of the like. Sloth is a loathsome disease in young people both in the eyes of God and man. . . .

"If my daughter Nan could but starch a little better I should be very glad she might supply her place, but in that respect I cannot desire it at present."

An early letter from Mary Downing, the step-daughter of Lucy, written to the girl's father, shows that sloth in that family did not arise through Madam Downing's neglect to instil good housewifely principles into her family, in their absence as well as their presence. The daughter, who had come to New England in 1633 with Governor Coddington, writes, with pathetic meekness, from Boston in 1635 to her parents, who were still in England, evidently in answer to a rather sharp missive from them: —

"Father, I trust that I have not provoked you to harbour soe ill an opinion of mee as my mothers l^res^ do signifie and give me to understand; the ill opinion and hard pswasion which shee beares of mee, that is to say, that I should abuse yor goodness, and bee prodigall of yor purse, neglect-

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ful of my brothers bands, and of my slatterishnes and lasines; for my brothers bands I will not excuse myselfe, but I thinke not worthy soe sharpe a reproofe; for the rest I must needs excuse, and cleare myselfe if I may bee believed. I doe not know myselfe guilty of any of them; for myne owne part I doe not desire to be myne owne judge, but am willinge to bee judged by them with whom I live, and see my course, whether I bee addicted to such thinges or noe. For my habitt it is meane, for the most, as many servants, and if I had not money wch I had for some thinges here wch I was not willinge to doe. I writt to my mother for lace, not out of any prodigall or proud mind, but only for some crosse cloathes, which is the most allowable and commendable dressinge here. Shee would have mee weare dressings, wch I did soe longe as they woulde suffer mee, whilest the elders with others intreated mee to leave them off because they gave great offence, and seeinge it hath pleased God to bringe mee hither amongst His people I woulde not willingly doe anything amongst them that shoulde be displeasinge vnto them.

But for myne owne part since my sendinge for thinges gives such offence I will bee more sparing in that kinde hereafter, but leave it to the Lorde to deale with mee accordinge to His mercy, earnestly desireinge him to give mee an hart to bee content with my portion, knowinge that nothinge can befall me but that Hee hath appointed. Deare Father I am far distant from you and know not how longe it will please the Lord to continue it soe, but howso-

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ever I desire to rest satisfied with His will, and doe earnestly desire to submitt myselfe in all duty and obedience, as belongeth vnto a child, to yor selfe and my mother as if I were with you. Father I pceive by your l^res^ that you would very willingly have mee change my condition, wch I must confesse I might soe may with divers, if the Lord pleased to move my hart to accept any of them, but I desire to wayte vpon Him that can change my hart at His will. Thus with my humble duty to yor selfe and my mother craving prdon of you both, and of her if I have given you any offence, and soe desireinge yor prayers to Him who is able to give wisdome and direction to mee in all thinges, I rest,

Yor obedient daughter till death,

MARY DOWNINGE.

I quote all of this long letter (though it does not exhibit Mrs. Lucy Downing in a very tender or lovable light), because, like many another letter written by an earnest woman, it gives much insight into the details of the life of the day.

We may turn to the first count against Mary Downing, — that she was accused of being neglectful of her brother James's bands. The band, a stiff collar of linen or cambric, was such an important and dignified adjunct of a man's dress at that day that it was, of course, imperative to have it well laundered. Carlyle says the Puritan band

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was "a linen tippet, properly the shirt-collar of those days, which, when the hair was worn long, needed to fold itself with a good expanse of washable linen over the upper works of the coat." Four plain and three falling bands for each male emigrant were on the list of supplies for the Massachusetts Bay Company. They were simple enough; for embroidered and even broad-collared bands were forbidden by sumptuary laws in New England, and a Puritan was said to be known by his little band. The plaint of Mary Downing for cross-cloths shows that equal supervision was held over the wear of the women settlers. Her wonted manner of hair "dressing," hated of the Puritan elders, of which she writes with such good sense and dignity, cannot be exactly described, but was evidently "more worldly" than the cross-cloth, which I believe to have been much like the forehead-cloth, as it was worn with a coif. "Crossecloths and quoifs" appear in many early colonial inventories, and we have Mary Downing's word that they were then the most "allowable and commendable" headdress in New England.

In Mary Downing's allusion to her father's desire for her to change her condition, we find significant proof of another trait of the character of Mr. and Mrs. Downing, — their earnest

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desire to marry off their children; and I have no doubt the sharpness of Mrs. Downing's reproof of her step-daughter's "slatterishness" had an added degree of intenseness because the young girl was so slow in getting married. She was married with speed, after the arrival in America of her father and mother, to one Anthony Stoddard, a very good match.

As this letter was found among the papers of Governor Winthrop, and endorsed in his writing, we are justified in suspecting that it was deemed of enough importance to be sent to him by the Downings, to ask either explanation or verification thereof; thus it was fortunately preserved for our instruction.

Through letters we learn of the happy and affectionate relations which existed between Margaret Winthrop and her husband's daughter Mary, who was married in Boston, in 1633, to the eldest son of Deputy-Governor Dudley. She lived in Cambridge and Ipswich, and depended much upon her "deare and very loveing mother" for many petty assistances. Her letters afford the small touches of daily life which help to form to us the picture of New England of that day; and they are interesting, not because of any great historical value, but from their quaintness and homeliness. Even the very names of the commodi-

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ties she desired and received from Boston are of interest, and a few sentences may be quoted in illustration:—

"I must make bold to trouble you for some things I stand in need of, intreating you to send by any convenient messenger, 5 yards of flowered holland for a wastcott and tape to bind it, an ele of fine holland and some fine thread.

"I pray you send me some cloutes, and a paire of sheetes and pillow beeres as soon as you can, and I pray you send me 2 calfes baggs for my cheese.

"I would pray you to send me a child's chair, for I can get none here, and Goodman Buttons boate shall call for it a fortnight hence.

"After my accustomed manner I make bold to trouble you for such things as I want. I intreat you would be pleased to send me 3 or 4 yards of fine buckrom, and an ele of fine holland for bigins for my child and some pinnes, small ones and other sort, and some sugar. I pray you send me some sope, I can get none in this towne, and some fruit. I am ashamed to be thus continually troublesome to you, but your readiness to fulfill my desires imboldens me thus to do. Dwelling so farre from ye Baye makes me ye oftener troublesome to you but my appologie is needlesse. I humbly thank you for those things you sent me, and for your vndeserved love continvally manifested towards me which can never be requited by me but in loving you back againe and shewing that duty and respect I owe you whenever occasion shall be offered."

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Two letters of Mary Dudley afford so much insight into the question of domestic service in those days that I will give them in full. In many letters the daughter asks her thoughtful mother to obtain for her "a good lusty servant;" and on April 28, 1636, she sends this entreaty: —

To my worthy, my deare mother Mrs Winthrop at her house in Boston these present.

DEARE MOTHER, — After my bounden duty, I still continue to be a troublesome suter to you, in the behalfe of a mayd. I should hardly have made so bold to iterate my request, but such is my necessity that I am forced to crave your help herein as speedily as maye be, my mayd being to goe away vpon May day and I am like to be altogether destitute. I cannot get her to stay a month longer; and I am soe ill and weak that I am like to be put to great straits if I cannot get one by your meanes. I do not doubt of your care herein, but yet I make bold to put you in mind, lest you should conceive my need to be lesse than it is. My husband is willing to stand to what you shall think meet to give. I desire to have my duty and thankfulnesse presented to my father; for the wheat he sent me by the pinace, I have not yet received it, but by my letter I perceive there is some for me. I intreat you would be pleased to send those things that I formerly writ for. I am ashamed of my boldness in this and other requests, but the constant experience of your love and boundty to me makes me still presume on

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your favour. I desire the mayd that you provide me may be one that hath been vsed to all kind of work and must refuse none. If she have skill in the dayrie I shall be the gladder. My children are well and my husband who desires to have his duty and service presented to my father and you. Thus intreating your acceptance of these scribbled lines, I humbly take my leave,

Your dutifull daughter,

MARY DUDLEY.

In a later letter we have the outcome of all the daughter's directions, and the mother's care in selection, —

To my deare and very loving mother Mrs Winthrop at Boston these be dd.

DEARE MOTHER, — My humble dutie remembered to you. It reioyceth me to heare of your recoverie out of your dangerous sickness, and should be glad to heare how your health is continued to you by a letter from yourself for I have not heard from you a long time which troubleth me, though I have sent three or foure letters to you. I thought it convenient to acquaint you and my father what a great affliction I have met withal by my maide servant, and how I am like through God his mercie to be freed from it; at her first coming she carried herselfe dutifully as became a servant; but since through mine and my husbands forbearance towards her for small faults she hath got such a head, and is growen soe insolent that her carriage towards vs,

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especially myselfe, is vnsufferable. If I bid her doe a thing shee will bid me to doe it myselfe, and she says how she can give content as well as any servant but shee will not, and sayes if I love not quietnes I was never so fitted in my life for shee would make me have enough of it. If I should write to you of all the reviling speeches and filthie language shee hath vsed towards me I should but grieve you. My husband hath vsed all meanes for to reforme her, reasons and perswasions but shee doth professe that her heart and her nature will not suffer her to confess her faults. If I tell my husband of her behavior to me, vpon examination shee will denie all that she hath done or spoken; so that we know not how to proceed against her; but my husband now hath hired another maide and is resolved to put her away the next weeke. Thus with my humble dutie to my father I rest your dutifull and obedient daughter,

MARY DUDLEY.

No woman, even of the nineteenth century, could read of this astonishing and annoying version of the servant question without a sincere thrill of pity for poor Mary Dudley; and if this gentlewoman, the daughter of men of highest dignity and rank in the Commonwealth, could not obtain worthy servants, because she chanced to live outside the large towns, what must have been the fate of families of more modest rank?

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Mary Dudley's father-in-law was Thomas Dudley, who lived at Roxbury. His wife, Dorothy, was doubtless a friend of Margaret Winthrop; and also his daughter, Anne Bradstreet, who lived in Cambridge, and was the first New England poetess.

I don't know what Governor Winthrop thought of Anne Bradstreet and her literary accomplishments, but I know what he thought of another woman-author: —

"The Governour of Hartford upon Connecticut came to Boston and brought his wife with him (a godly young woman and of special parts) who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason which had been growing upon her divers years by occasion of giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband being very loving and tender of her was loath to grieve hir; but he saw his error when it was too late. For if she had attended to her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men whose minds are stronger, she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her."

Among Margaret Winthrop's women friends in the new world she had the companionship of many old Suffolk and Essex neighbors, —

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the wives of Puritan clergymen and of her husband's friends, his university and county fellows. She had the acquaintance of some specially intelligent and noble women, — women of courage, of piety, of steadfast nature. Among them she had near her in Roxbury the wife of John Eliot's youth, who "lived with him till she became the staff of his old age." She was a woman very eminent for holiness, and she excelled most of the "daughters that have done vertuously. Her name was Anna, and gracious was her nature." Her husband called her his "dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful wife." She "displayed considerable skill in physick and chyrurgery," and was generous in her use of that skill.

Rev. John Ward's consort was another pious woman: —

> "a meaner person whom exemplary piety had recommended. He lived with her for more than forty years in such an happy harmony that when she died he professed that in all this time he never had received one displeasing look or word from her. Though she would so faithfully tell him of anything that might seem amendable in him that he would pleasantly compare her to an accusing conscience, yet she ever pleased him wonderfully. And she would often put him upon the duties of secret fasts; and when she met anything in reading that she

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counted singularly agreeable, she would impart it unto him."

There was also Penelope Pelham, who became the wife of Governor Bellingham, and was a most upright and virtuous woman, though her marriage had caused such a scandal in Boston.

"The governour, Mr. Bellingham, was married, (I would not mention such ordinary matters in our history, but by occasion of some remarkable accidents). The young gentlewoman was ready to be contracted to a friend of his, who lodged in his house, and by his consent had proceeded so far with her, when on the sudden the governour treated with her, and obtained her for himself. He excused it by the strength of his affection, and that she was not absolutely promised to the other gentleman. Two errors more he committed upon it. 1. That he would not have his contract published where he dwelt, contrary to an order of court. 2. That he married himself contrary to the constant practice of the country. The great inquest presented him for breach of order of court, and at the court following, in the 4th month, the secretary called him to answer the prosecution. But he not going off the bench, as the manner was, and but few of the magistrates present, he put it off to another time, intending to speak with him privately, and with the rest of the magistrates about the case, and accordingly he told him the reason why he did not proceed, viz., being unwilling to command him

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publicly to go off the bench, and yet not thinking it fit he should sit as a judge, when he was by law to answer as an offender. This he took ill, and said he would not go off the bench, except he were commanded."

Margaret Winthrop had also for a friend the widow Joanna Hoar, of whom Charles Francis Adams wrote in his Three Episodes of Massachusetts History: —

"Joanna Hoar may well be remembered as the common origin of an offspring at once numerous and notable; for, besides the family bearing her own name, than which none has developed more strikingly or through longer periods the sterling characteristics and some of the peculiarities of New England manhood, — besides this family, honorably perpetuating her own and her husband's name, from her through one daughter, who married Henry Flint, is descended a remarkable progeny already referred to; while from another daughter, herself bearing the mother's name, came the elder branch of the Quincys, issuing in Abigail Adams, and her son, John Quincy. Among Joanna Hoar's other descendants are numbered, also, the family of Evarts, and the Baldwins and Terrys of Connecticut, including among their members the brilliant advocate who defended Andrew Johnson, and the brave soldier whose name is associated with the gallant storming of Fort Fisher. Indeed, it may fairly be questioned whether, in the whole wide field of American genealogy, there is any strain of

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blood more fruitful of distinguished men than that which issued from the widow of the seventeenth-century sheriff of Gloucester, who himself never crossed the Atlantic."

She saw also for a time another widow, Lady Deborah Moody, a woman of wealth and great intelligence, who left England for freedom of conscience, and left New England for a like reason, and settled in Long Island.

The Winthrops had the amusement, perhaps the annoyance, of being advised of and consulted in many troubled and some sordid and some vexed wooings; among others, that of the Regicide Rev. Hugh Peter. He was the step-father of Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr., and he writes thus to the Governor for advice as to his forthcoming but apparently very unwilling marriage with one Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield: —

"I have sent Mrs. D. Sh. letter which puts mee to new troubles, for though shee takes liberty vpon my Cossen Downings speeches, yet, Good Sir, let me not be a foole in Israel. I had many good answers to yesterdays worke and among the rest her letter, which (if her owne) doth argue more wisdome than I thought shee had. You have often sayd I could not leave her; what to doe is very considerable. Could I with comfort and credit desist, this seemes best; could I goe on and con-

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tent myselfe that were good; my request is that this bearer my harts halfe may well observe what is best. For though I now seem free agayne, yet the depth I know not. Had shee some ouer with mee I think I had bin quieter. This shee may know, that I have sought God earnestly, that the next week I shall be riper.

"I doubt she gaynes most by such writings; and she deserues most when shee is further off.

"If you shall amongst you advise mee to write to her, I shall forthwith, our towne lookes upon mee contracted, and soe I haue sayd my selfe."

She did, indeed, deserve most as she seemed further away from him; and shrewd Endicott divined it, and wrote thus to the Governor of this very uncertain, wavering love-making: —

"I cannot but acquaint you with my thoughts concerning Mr. Peter, since hee receaued a letter from Mrs. Sheffield, which was yesterday in the euening after the faste, shee seeming in her letter to abate of her affeccions toward him & dislikinge to come to Salem vppon such termes as hee had written. I find shee now begins to play hir parte, &, if I mistake not, you will see him as greatly in loue with hir (if shee will but hold off a little) as ever shee was with him; but hee conceales it what hee cann as yett. The beginning of the next week you will hear further from him."

This proved true; and Peter soon, in other letters, showed his "fluctuations," as Judge

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Sewall said. He says that in this love-affair he would not "come off with dishonor nor come on with grief or ominous hesitations." He pleads that he may be "called to some imployment that will not suit a marryed state." He says he has sad discouragements from his friends at "her trim." He wishes to know whether he can make an honorable retreat, and hints of other entanglements, and finally, after many "reflections upon my rash proceedings with Mrs. Sh.," he marries her; and, indeed, he had better have braved bad reports, for he did indeed "come on with griefe," for she evidently became insane.

Lucy Downing wrote of her, a few years after her marriage: —

"She is gone to visit the Bay and it seems was more willinge Boston should have her bravery than poor Salem, but was at present a little prevented, but I doubt not but havinge possession she maye, and will in short tyme, attayne her ends, and why she should be molested in it is much disputed and Mr Peters much censured and condemned in crosinge his deed to her but whilst men make our lawes they are fitest to judge of them. But certaynly the woman is dangerously affected, and they that have experience will find no less. I hear she hath an intent to present my sister with a gowne and tould the party she heard her former present was accepted therefore if she could give she would try her power to sell."

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A few years later, we find her husband sending this message to New England: "Bee sure you never let my wife come away from thence without my leave and you love mee."

Gentle Roger Williams wrote of him at this time: —

> "He tould mee that his affliction from his wife stird him up to Action abroad, & when his succeese tempted him to Pride, the Bitternes of his bozome-comforts was a Cooler & a Bridle to him."

Poor Peter! he had not an altogether noble character, as shown in his letters, but he was ennobled by his shocking and tragic death.

It seems strange that "Cozzen Downing" should wish to meddle in Parson Peter's love-affair, for he had business enough of that ilk to occupy him and worry him in his own family. He had much trouble in marrying off his daughter Luce, though he should bear no blame in the matter, as it was the girl's own fault. She had been enamoured of one Mr. Eyer, who had been deemed an unsuitable match; and Mr. Norton, the minister's brother, was picked out for her. She did not refuse his addresses, though she showed plainly to all around her that "she hath not yet forgotten Mr. Eyer his fresh Red." At last she became "verie sensible of loseing fair opportunities," and consented to wed Mr. Norton, to her

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father's joy, who wrote, showing the spirit of cold and sordid calculation with which the Puritan father ever regarded courtship and marriage: "She may stay long ere she meet with a better, unless I had more monie for her than I now can spare." But, alas! Madam Downing soon wrote very sadly to her brother, the Governor, that Luce had been carrying herself "unwisely and unreputably, talking among her friends giving them unjust suspicions of her enforcement to Mr. Norton;" and it also came out that Mr. Eyer was not, after all, the charmer to be dreaded, but that Luce's affections were inclining to John Harrold. John had "practised upon and disturbed her;" and the Downings were evidently in deep distress, lest the girl be left wholly on their hands. A very sharp and somewhat bumptious letter to Governor Winthrop from Minister Norton, the brother of the unwelcome suitor, seems to have finally settled the matter, and the pair were speedily wed.

The reason given by Emanuel Downing for desiring "to match some of my older children, was because some think me to blame that none are disposed of." His niece, Nab Goade, had been provided in the new world with "a verie good match," so he thriftily desired to have two marriages take place in one day. There-

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fore he cast about for a wife of solid substance for his son, for an "inheretrice;" and he wrote, of course, to patient Governor Winthrop for advice and assistance: —

"I have here in Salem a desire to match my sonne James to a maide that lives in Mr Endicotts howse; hir sister is maryed here, who says the mayd was left to hir dispose by hir parents, but they dying intestate the administration and tuition of the maide was by the Court comited to Mr Hathorne Mr Batter and Goodman Scruggs; and to helpe Mr Endicott with some present monie you wrote to Mr Hathorne to putt hir to Mr Endicott to board, who thereupon received 40 li aforehand for 2 yeares. I have moved Mr Hathorne and Mr Batter for my sonne who are well pleased therewith. I purposed to have acquaynted Mr Endicott therewith but that a friend in great secrecye told mee that Mr Batter had in my sonnes behalfe told yt to Mr Endicott; and as Mr Endicott said to my good friend Mr Hathorne that he had the wholl dispose of the maid, and would provide a better match for hir, Mr Hathorne answered him that they the feoffes were trusted with the person and the estate vntill the maide should be of yeares to dispose of herself, which, said hee, that shee now was of full yeares to dispose of hirselfe, being now past 16, for shee now is about 17 yeares of age; then Mr Endicott replyed that he would write to the Gouvernor and yourselfe aboute it. Mr Hathorne desires not to be knowne of this counsell revealed to mee &c. I should first have advised

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with Mr Endicott in this but his friends desired he should not yet be acquaynted therewith, or now vntill I heare an answeare from yourselfe, and the Governor that the Maide be left to hir owne dispose or the feoffes to whom before hir full age she did apporteyne. I pray let me beholding to you to acquaynt the Governor with my humble dutye to him, that hee may doe me right, and answer Mr Endicott without offence that the mayde is of full age, but I leave the matter and manner myselfe and all to your better judgment submitting wholly to the will of God therein."

There seems to be much trickiness and double dealing in all this matter, and we may note that the sly Downing does not even mention the maid's name; but we learn it from Endicott, — it was Rebecca Cooper.

Endicott's letters have a far manlier ring in this matrimonial venture. We find that he had taken the girl from the guardianship of Goodman Scruggs, "both in regard to his Judgment and his wifes and his breeding." He writes thus to Winthrop: —

"I am told you are sollicited in a business concerninge the girle which was putt to my keeping and trust. I have not beene made acquainted with it by you know whome, which if there had been any such intendment I think it had bene but reason. But to let that passe, I pray you advize

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not to stirre in it, for it will not be effected for reasons I shall show you. . . .

"The Lord knowes I have alwaies resolved (& so hath my wife ever since the girl came to vs) to yelde her vp to be disposed by yourselfe to any of youers if ever the Lord should make her fitt & worthie. And that is our purposes & resolutions still, if God hinder not. Now for the other for whom you writt. I confesse I cannot freelie yeald therevnto for present, for these grounds. ffirst. The girle desires not to marry as yet. 2ndlue. Shee confesseth (which is the truth) herselfe to be altogether yet vnfitt for such a condition, shee being a verie girle & but 15 years of age. 3dlie. When the man was moved to hir, shee said shee could not like him. 4thlie. You know it would bee of ill reporte that a girle because shee hath some estate should bee disposed of soe younge, espetiallie not having any parents to choose for hir. ffithlie. I have some good hopes of the childs cominge on to the best thinge. And on the other side I feare — I will saye no more. Other things I shall tell you when we meet. If this will not satisfie some, let the Court take hir from mee and place with any other to dispose of her, I shall be content; which I heare was plotted to accomplish this end; but I will further enquire about it and you shall know of it if it be true, ffer I know there are many passages about this business which when you come to heare of you will not like."

Madam Downing also "made a motion" in the matter. She wrote to her brother: —

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"James Downing is anxious to marry with Rebecca Cooper. . . . My husband would humbly desire your selfe if you have noe exception against it, that you would be pleased to doe him the favor to write to Mr Endicot to desire his furtherance therein. The disposition of the mayde and her education with Mrs Endicot are hopefull, her person tollerable, and the estate very convenient, and that is the state of the business. Allso James is incouraged by the mayds friends to prosecute the sute, but I think he hath not yet spoken to the mayd as I hear."

So all this matching had been entered into before the girl herself had been spoken to; but all this secrecy and planning came to naught.

In this affair the New England Puritans simply followed the manner of mating to which they had been accustomed in England. An orphan girl, a ward in chancery, was, indeed, at that time a most pitiable object. Her fortune was at the mercy of the Crown and the public, and from her earliest childhood her marriage, often with a most doubtful mate, was connived at by her guardians, and often accomplished. In the Verney Papers and the D'Ewes Journal are some accounts of "matching" a child-ward, closely and curiously akin to this Downing-Endicott affair. Marriages of girls of thirteen were frequent

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among commoners, while among the nobility and in royal families marriages of girls of eight or ten still took place; indeed, by the payment of two crowns, any English children could be married in the daytime in any parish. Stubbes, in his Anatomy of Abuses, vigorously denounces these early marriages: —

"Little infants in swadling clouts are often maried by their ambicious Parents and frends when they know neither good nor evill. Every sawcy boy of xiiij, xvi or xx yeres of age to catch a woman and marie her without any fear of God at all, or respect had either to her religion, wisdom, integritie of lyfe, or any other vertue. . . . Then build they up a cotage, though but of elder poals in every lane-end where they live as beggers al their life."

Against this abuse, what was known as the Cottage Act was passed in England, in 1587, forbidding building a cottage unless on four acres of land. Ten pounds was the penalty for breaking the Act. In New England early marriages were never so frequent.

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IX

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN BOSTON

THE religious aspect of Margaret Winthrop's life bore far larger proportion to the whole round of her days in Boston than can be relatively accorded to it in this biography. The spirit of the Lord truly filled her days. She had been reared in religious ways, was of deep, spiritual feeling herself, and was married to a sincere, consistent, and insistent Christian. We have a full account of her husband's inward life, a remarkable journal of his religious feelings, called Experiencia, which was begun in 1606, and continued till 1628; and also another spiritual biography, called Christian Experience, written in New England late in life. It is difficult for us to-day, even with vivid imagination, to enter into the spirit of self-revelation of those men of Puritan faith and Puritan fears. Carlyle says: "Puritanism has grown inarticulate, has grown unintelligible to us." Their words are often painful to the reader, and sometimes oppress

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one with a sense of unreality, almost of insincerity, and always arouse in me a mortifying feeling that I have intruded into a sacred knowledge which never was intended to be given to the public. Probably this latter feeling comes solely from the modern habit of reserve upon the innermost spiritual thoughts which unconsciously tempers our judgment of another generation. Certainly no one can read the pages of Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana without being convinced that the public exhibition of such private emotions was far from distasteful to the Christians of other days.

Winthrop's disclosures reveal the same self-abasements and sin-conflicts which we find in similar records. In the later experience, written when he was fifty years old, he opens thus: —

> "In my youth I was very lewdly disposed, inclining unto and attempting so far as my heart enabled me all kinds of wickedness except swearing and scorning religion which I had no temptation unto in regard of my education."

We do not know exactly how old he was when he was so lewdly disposed; but later, when he was only twelve years old, he still was "very wild and dissolute," though under restraint of reason, by exercise of which he

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could, "as occasion required, write letters of mere vanity; and if occasion was, I could write savoury and godly counsel." A fever at fourteen made him "go mourning with myself," and he then drew near to God; yet still he was sullied with the vice of self-esteem. At eighteen, being married, he went through a crisis: "I loved a Christian and the very ground he went upon. I honoured a faithful minister in my heart and could have kissed his feet." He never missed a sermon, though miles away; still he was beset with "a secret desire after pleasures, and itching after liberty." He constantly and bitterly regrets his carnal proclivities and fallings from grace; yet, after all, the sins he enumerates are only sitting up too late at night, occasional impatience, caring too much for eating, going too often gunning, — though he confesses he never had much success as a sportsman. The Experience is full of vows, covenants, and resolutions; it varies from dejection to exaltation; it exhibits the alternation of feeling which often comes in the world to those who strive to live after the highest moral and religious ideal. He resolves "to give over shooting," or else very seldom to indulge in it; never to play cards; to give up trying new inventions and cling to the good old ways of our fathers; to avoid

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needless expenses; to abandon the use of tobacco; to have a special good care of the education of his children; to flee idleness; to pray and confer privately with his wife; and other equally good and sensible determinations, the breaking or abandonment of which would not seem either very wicked or unnatural to-day.

After the death of his second wife, he gave himself to the study of divinity, and intended to enter the ministry; but even in this he found temptation of the devil through pride of his gifts, "which did not a little puff me up." But he prayed, and fasted, and conquered. "Avoyd Sathan!" he exclaims, after fierce buffeting with temptation. Truly, the fashion of this earth passeth away. The earnest purport of Winthrop's words awakes but slight resonance or response in our hearts, with our modern habits of thought.

Margaret Winthrop's faith is shown in her letters. She was evidently in deep sympathy with her husband's modes of religious thought. We learn it from such sentences as these: "I thank you for putting me in mind to be cheerful, and to put my trust in good God, who never fayled me in time of need. I beseech him to continue his mercy stil to me and grant that my sinnes may not provoke his

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anger against me for he is a just God and will punnish offenders." She calls herself a "sinfull woman full of infirmyties continually fayleinge of what I desire;" and she constantly voices her submission to God's will, and her faith in his judgment and watchful care. The external expression of her faith was not only in her letters, but in her life.

John Winthrop was ever earnest in what he called family duties; and the services of the Puritan church were such as constantly and actively reiterated the doctrines and teachings of that sect.

The first covenant of the Boston Church which Margaret Winthrop attended was signed in Charlestown in August, 1630. This is its simple and beautiful wording: —

"In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his Holy will and Divine Ordinance,

"Wee whose names are hereunder written, being by His most wise and good Providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves into one Congregation or Church, under the Lord Jesus Christ our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom He hath Redeemed and Sanctified to Himselfe, doe hereby solemnly and religiously (as in His most holy Prœsance) Promisse and bind ourselves to walk in all our wayes according to the Rule of the Gospell, and in all sincere Conformity

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to His holy Ordinances, and in mutuall love and respect each to other, so neere as God shall give us grace."

This solemn compact was signed first by John Winthrop, then by Thomas Dudley, then by many against whose names the pathetic note "Dead since" was speedily placed. The whole list of church admissions prior to the year 1640, is given by Mr. William H. Whitmore, in his valuable chapter in the first volume of the Memorial History of Boston. Most interesting does it prove to the historical and genealogical student. The name of Margaret Winthrop appears as number one hundred and eleven on the list; it is near that of John and Jacob Eliot, and John and Martha Winthrop.

The church thus formed is now known as the First Church of Boston. In its present house of worship the words of its first covenant may be seen on a painted window; and among the ancient communion plate is an embossed silver cup with "The gift of Governor J^{no} Winthrop to ye 1^{t} Church." The church records call it a tall embossed cup; it is what is known as a standing-cup or hanap, — a form constantly used in Holland.

The first gathering-place of this congregation was truly God's temple. Old Roger Clap said: "Before they could build at Boston, they

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lived many of them in tents and wigwams at Charlestown; their meeting-place being abroad under a tree, where I have heard Mr Wilson and Mr Phillips preach many a good sermon." Though there were regular meetings every Sunday after the removal to Boston, there was no meeting-house built for two years; and it is very probable that the congregation gathered in John Winthrop's house, which seems to have been the general assembling-place at that day. But as prosperity seemed dawning on the community, funds were raised, to the amount of one hundred and twenty pounds, to be applied to the erection of a meeting-house and a dwelling for the minister. The first structure, said to be of mud walls, with thatched roof and earthen floor, stood till 1640. Some impassioned and thrilling scenes were witnessed within its rude walls. It stood on the south side of State Street. Joshua Scottow contrasted "the amplified and dignified" church of Boston in his later days with that "little church which after seven years growth its number (in their mud-wall Meeting-House, with wooden Chalices) was so small as a child might have told the whole Assembly."

This building was replaced by a wooden structure, which stood on Washington Street,

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nearly opposite the head of State Street. It was burned in October, 1711, and was replaced by a stately brick edifice, — a representative building of its special type of architecture, which cost about £4000. This remained till 1808, when it was taken down, and the society removed to a new church in Chauncy Place, which in turn was deserted for the beautiful church on the corner of Berkeley and Marlborough Streets.

The first minister of this church was Rev. John Wilson. In the year 1630, £60 were collected for him and for Mr. Phillips, as salary. He then returned to England to bring his wife to the new land, and John Eliot preached in his place. She came most unwillingly, with fear and trembling, though she was cheered and encouraged by all her friends; and she evidently retained that timidity, for when he a second time returned to England, leaving her behind, she was in great distress of mind.

The character of John Wilson is well known, — a Puritan of the Puritans. His portrait, of doubtful authenticity, shows a severe countenance, with unusually long waving hair. He was of good birth and education, and by tradition a spirited preacher. What would have been the history of the church had John Cotton

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been its preacher, is open to conjecture; but he was only its teacher.

The form of this first church was purely congregational, its services those of the Puritan church. After the arrival of John Cotton, in 1633, he was at once ordained teacher, as was the custom of the day, when each church of size had both pastor and teacher. Hutchinson says the circumstances and order of proceeding in Mr. Cotton's ordination were intended as a precedent, and the Congregational churches in New England have generally conformed thereto ever since. On this occasion, besides "imposition of hands," the people were notified that they might sanction the choice of the teacher by public expression, which was done by "erection of hands." Winthrop further described this solemn scene:

"Then Mr Wilson, the Pastor, demanded of him, if he did accept of that call? He paused and then spake to this effect; that howsoever he knew himself unworth and unsufficient for that place, yet having observed all the passages of Gods Providence which he reckoned up in particular in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the Pastor and the two Elders laid their hands upon his head, and the Pastor prayed, and then taking off their hands, laid them on again, and speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office in the name of the Holy

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Ghost, and did give him in the charge of the Congregation, and did thereby, as a sign from God endue him with the gifts fit for his office, and lastly did bless him. Then the neighboring ministers which were present did at the Pastors motion give him the right hands of fellowship and the Pastor made a stipulation between him and the Congregation."

The impressive service of ordination in the Congregational church was never more significant than under this thatched roof, within these mud-walls of this first Boston church. The women of the congregation, with gentle Puritan countenances; the sturdy yeomen faces of the men; the noble bearing of the Governor and elders; the stern severe lineaments of John Wilson, contrasting with the beautiful, winning, loving face of John Cotton; and the earnestness, the inspiration of faith which glorified every feature,— make it ever memorable, ever admirable.

The influence of John Cotton was speedily felt in spiritual affairs.

"It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston after Mr Cotton was called to office there. More were converted and added to that church than to others in the Bay. Divers profane and notorious evil persons came and confessed their sins and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church. Yea the Lord gave witness to the exercise of prophecy

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so as thereby some were converted and others much edified. Also the Lord pleased greatly to bless the practice of discipline wherein he gave the pastor Mr. Wilson a singular gift to the great benefit of the church."

An exceedingly distinct and detailed relation of the churches of early Massachusetts was given by Thomas Lechford, the first Boston lawyer, in his Plaine dealing, or Newes from New-England. He clearly defines the church government and administration, the church doctrine and customs. His book is so reliable, and hence so valuable, as to be nearly indispensable to the study of New England institutions of early years, especially from 1634 to 1641, when he returned to England; for lawyers were but little desired in Massachusetts at that time. Lechford, the first Boston lawyer, and John Hoar, the first Concord lawyer, were both forbidden to conduct or plead any law cases before the court, save their own. His description of the "publique worship" reads thus: —

"Every Sabbath or Lords Day they come together at Boston by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an hour. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a chapter; Then a Psalme is sung

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whichever one the ruling Elder dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with a prayer and a blessing. About two in the afternoone, they repaire to the meeting-house againe; and the Pastor begins, as before noone, and a Psalme being sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to reade and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the afternoon. After and before his Sermon he prayed. After that ensueth Baptisme, if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seate, the most eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders seate. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptisme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the church the childe may be baptized. . . . No sureties are required. Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of Churches and meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectual exhortations out of Scripture. The Magistrates, and chiefe gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in the absence

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of their husbands come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the deacons, and so passe another way to their seats again."

If the faces of this little procession of worshippers could once more pass before us, what a revelation it would be of ancestral types! I like to fancy them as they walk slowly up the little aisle, bringing to the altar scant gifts in money, but far homelier tokens of interest, even in the shape of food and provisions.

Lechford gives a detailed account of the communion services, which shows the simple dignity and beauty of the church life of the Puritans.

Of the discomforts attendant upon the public services in this church, and of its imperfections, I will not dwell, as I have told them so much in detail in my book, The Sabbath in Puritan New England. The seats were rude, scarce more than benches, yet were carefully assigned by a Seating Committee. The poorly built house was unheated, even in the fierce New England winter. The services were long; the singing necessarily doubtful, and constantly growing worse.

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Upon week days lectures were given in various towns, as was the custom in England. Cotton complained, in his Way of the Churches, written in 1639, that there were so many lectures, and so many persons resorted to them, that it was "to the great neglect of their affairs and the damage of the public." The Court and ministers met to consider the restraint of these lectures; but it seemed to be "taken in ill-part" by some of the elders, so no action was taken. The General Court of Massachusetts has not had, since that time, to consider the expediency of legislating for the suppression of inordinate church-going.

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X

MISTRESS ANNE HUTCHINSON

In the year 1637 Margaret Winthrop wrote this letter to John Winthrop: —

To her Honered husband these be delivered.

Deare in my thoughts, — I blush to thinke howe much I have neclected the opertunyte of presenting my love to you. Sad thoughts possess my spirits and I cannot repulce them wch makes me unfit for anythinge wondringe what the Lord meanes by all these troubles amonge us — shure I am that all shall worke to the best, to them that love God, or rather are loved of him. I know he will bring light out of obscuritye, and make his rituusnesse shine forth, as clere as the noune daye, yet I find in myselfe an aferce spirit, and a tremblinge hart not so willinge to submit to the will of God as I desyre. Thear is a time to plant and a time to pul up that wch is planted, wch I could desyre might not be yet, but the Lord knoweth what is best, and his wil be done, but I will rite no more hopeinge to see thee tomorrow my best affections being commended to yourselfe, the rest of our friends at Nuetown, I commit thee to God.

Your loveinge wife

Margaret W.

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This letter is significantly dated at "Sad Boston," and it is the only word which has come down to us to show how Margaret Winthrop regarded that bitter, bewildering controversy which was then raging in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which divided churches and families, which threatened to annihilate the Commonwealth. There is no word to tell of her personal feeling towards Anne Hutchinson, the woman who was the protagonist in this religious drama of early New England. They must have known each other well, for they were near neighbors, perhaps intimate friends, during the first year of Anne Hutchinson's life in Boston, — the year that she was respected and loved by all.

It is certainly curious that the most trying experience that came to Margaret Winthrop in her Boston home should have come to her through a woman. It had been a matter of most profound rejoicing when Rev. John Cotton arrived in the colony from Boston, England. Coming from the beautiful church of St. Botolphs, so charmingly described by Hawthorne in his Pilgrimage to Boston, — the church whose bells rang out The Brides of Enderby in the high tide of 1571, whose lantern is said to have gone out when Cotton departed from the sacred walls, and whose

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lofty tower still proudly overlooks Old Boston, — he could not fail of welcome in the little town affectionately named for his old home. But he brought disaster in his train, — this woman parishioner, Anne Hutchinson, who well-nigh ended the little Commonwealth. She managed to evoke speedily a religious controversy more violent than any other that has ever taken place in America. In it the entire Commonwealth of Massachusetts was involved, and it changed the form of civil government. Winthrop made this entry in his diary on October 21, 1636: —

"One Mrs Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and a bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors; 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches; as our union with the Holy Ghost so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."

The exact definitions of Mrs. Hutchinson's religious beliefs or theories would be impossible for me to give. I doubt if she could give them herself in simple and intelligible

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language. The point most evident to me, and the one that seems to me of most influence in her extraordinary career, was this very fact, — that she could not and did not fully and comprehensibly explain her beliefs and theories. There is a charm to many natures in mysticism, especially so, I think, to many of strong religious feeling, since the very foundations of our religious belief lie in our spiritual natures, and can scarcely be explained. The Puritan colonists, living and thinking wholly in the Bible, with their minds deeply absorbed with spiritual matters, with few temporal diversions from the hard routine of their daily life, other than church and lecture going, were, from the very nature of circumstances, ready victims of religious excitement. Nay, more; they had an ideal element in their composition which made them alive to mystic influences, — an element which the genius of Hawthorne divined and portrayed with unerring touch, though he had none of the proofs of it which we possess to-day in the strange letters of colonial times made public in the collections of our historical societies.

Anne Hutchinson "vented her revelations," — a form of religious instruction ever most fascinating to credulous and excitable minds, but appearing to the clearer-minded and clearer-

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headed of the Puritans as the very essence of fanaticism. And in these prophecies and revelations she did not hesitate to utter threatening and denunciatory forebodings of judgment and disaster to the colony, "that God would ruin us and our posterity and the State." This, of course, Winthrop could not for a moment sympathize with, or endure, or permit; and at a protracted meeting in the Boston Church he spoke freely, and, as he says, with some bitterness, opposing the settlement in Boston as a church-teacher of Mrs. Hutchinson's brother, a minister named Wheelwright. And he made the request "seriously and affectionately, that seeing these variances grew, and estrangement from some words and phrases which were of human invention and tended to doubtful disputation, that for the peace of the church they might be forborne; he meant person of the Holy Ghost and real union." To these and other sensible words no man made answer.

Such affectionate and temperate expostulation would never silence any one of Anne Hutchinson's temperament. The preface of A Short Story of the Rise Reigne and Ruine of the Antinomians in New England, tells of her favorite method of instilling her belief and making converts: —

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"Last and worst of all, which most suddenly diffused the venom into the very veins and vitals of the people in the country, was Mistress Hutchinsons double weekly-lecture which she kept under pretence of repeating sermons, to which resorted sundry of Boston and other towns about to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once; where after she had repeated the sermon, she would make her comment upon it, vent her mischievous opinions as she pleased, and wreath the Scriptures to her own purpose; when the custom was for her scholars to propound questions, and she (gravely sitting in the chair) did make answers thereunto. The great respect she had at first in the hearts of all, and her profitable and sober carriage of matters, for a time, made this her practice less suspected by the godly magistrates and elders of the church there, so that it was winked at for a time (though afterward reproved by the assembly and called into court); but it held so long, until she had spread her leaven so far, that had not Providence prevented, it had proved the canker of our peace and ruin of our comforts. By all these means and cunning sleights they used, it came about that these errors were so soon conveyed before we were aware not only into the church in Boston, but also into almost all the parts of the country round about."

At a meeting of the Assembly on the 30th of August, 1637, resolutions were adopted which give us an insight into the two important disorders which Winthrop deplored, and by

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which the peace of the church was seriously disturbed: —

"1. That though women might meet (some few together) to pray and edify one another; yet such a set assembly, (as was then in practice at Boston,) where sixty or more did meet every week, and one woman (in a prophetical way, by resolving questions of doctrine, and expounding scripture) took upon her the whole exercise, was agreed to be disorderly, and without rule.

"2. Though a private member might ask a question publicly after sermon, for information; yet this ought to be very wisely and sparingly done, and that with leave of the elders; but questions of reference, (then in use,) whereby the doctrines delivered were reproved, etc., was utterly condemned."

I cannot find that it was ever the general custom among Puritans in England for women to hold such meetings as these; though Antony Wood, the Oxford antiquary, tells of the wife of Rev. John Oxenbridge (who afterwards died in Boston), that while he preached on his travels to and fro, "his dear wife preached in the house among her gossips and others;" and that after her death, "a monument with a large canting inscription" set in Eton College, told of her holdings-forth. And he also asserts that this inscription gave such offence

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to the royalists that they caused it to be "daubed over with paint."

Whatever we may think to-day of these women's conventicles, — where the women colonists heard all the ministers except Mr. Cotton reproached, "that they had not the seal of the spirit," "were not able ministers," etc. — I am sure none of us would for a moment assent to the wisdom or the practice of permitting members of a church congregation to rise in religious assemblies and reprove and reproach with bitterness the doctrines advanced and previously explained by the clergyman or minister; or to leave the meeting-house a dissenting body, as the Hutchinsonians did when Parson Wilson rose to preach. It would clearly be an invitation to the interference and interruption of every crank and brawler in Christendom.

Welde wrote feelingly of these conditions: —

"Now after our sermons were ended at our public lectures, you might have seen half a dozen pistols discharged at the face of the preacher, I mean so many objections made by the opinionists in the open assembly against our doctrine delivered, if it suited not their new fancies; and this done not once and away but from day to day after our sermons; yea they would come when they heard a minister was upon such a point as was like to

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strike at their opinions, with a purpose to oppose him to his face.

"Now you might have seen many of the opinionists rising up and contemptuously turning their backs upon the faithful pastors of that church, and going forth from the assembly when he began to pray and preach.

"Now you might have read epistles of defiance and challenge, written to some ministers after their sermons, to cross and contradict truths by them delivered.

"Now might one have frequently heard, both in court and church meetings when they were dealt withal about their opinions and exorbitant carriages, such bold and menacing expressions as these; This I hold and will hold to my death, and will maintain it with my blood. And if I cannot be heard here I must be forced to take some other course.

"They said moreover what they would do against us (biting their words in) when such opportunities should be offered to them as they daily expected."

The matter was also discussed and argued by the ministers in public, John Cotton leaning strongly for a time to Antinomianism; and the more the questions were debated, the less was known about them. Winthrop says: "No man could tell, except some few who knew the bottom of the matter, where the difference was." At last, thoroughly alarmed and worn out, the Court of Massachu-

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setts proceeded against this fomenter of dissensions. She "defended her twenty-nine cursed opinions in Boston Church. and then fell into fearful lying with an impudent forehead in the open assembly," and she was sentenced to be banished; but as it was in wintertime, she was sent temporarily to the house of a minister in Roxbury, where, till spring, she was well provided for, and where her relations and the elders could visit her, though no one else, lest she seduce them to her beliefs.

This was not all that the Court, or Winthrop, did in the matter. A petition had been sent affirming belief in the innocence of Mr. Wheelwright, in the charges against him, and making complaint of the action of the Court in such a manner that the petition was deemed scandalous and seditious. It was signed by sixty of the most influential citizens in the community. As a punishment for their scandal and sedition, they were disfranchised, disarmed, their public offices removed, and some were banished. This was, I think, one of the boldest and most arbitrary actions of any civilized government; certainly no parallel can be found to it in the history of the colonies, provinces, and United States, from that day to this. I cannot find that Winthrop had any important backer or support in this action among the

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Boston citizens, except from his pastor, Mr. Wilson, though he had the support of the colony outside the town; and it is a proof of his power in the colony that all these Boston men of dignity and wealth submitted to his decision,—for, according to Welde, they were "some of the magistrates, some gentlemen, some scholars and men of learning, some Burgesses of our general court, some of our captains and soldiers, some chief men in towns, and some eminent for religion, parts, and wit." Winthrop had been censured and rebuked for too much lenity in his judgments and government; he learned well his lesson of severe and rigorous authority. The reason of his power in this matter lay, after all, far deeper than any temporal authority. It lay in his own spirit; it was to him a season of solemn and self-searching inquest of his own motives. He wrote, during his hours of privacy, his remarkable Christian Experience; he questioned "mine owne estate" in great chastening of spirit, and after calm self-examination, declared that his public acts were "done for the glory of God and public peace." No one can doubt these were his true motives.

It must have been a sore trial to Winthrop to lose from his colony and his neighborhood

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these old friends of his. William Coddington, a Hutchinsonian, was a friend in England, who had emigrated with him, a man of wealth and dignity, who afterwards was Governor of Rhode Island; Mr. Richard Dummer, who three years later sent the Governor £100 in his pecuniary ill-fortunes; Mr. John Coggeshall, of the distinguished family of Coggeshall, Suffolk, a close friend and neighbor, who became the first Governor of Rhode Island, and in spite of his punishment always remained a warm friend to Winthrop; William Baulstone, another Suffolk man, was fined £20, and left Boston, but still clung to the memory of his early life and old friendship; Henry Bull, another Rhode Island governor; William Aspinwall, Thomas Savage, Philip Sherman, and John Underhill were among the signers. Some afterwards expressed penitence and were forgiven.

Early in the day Sir Harry Vane, who had been appointed Governor, was one of Anne Hutchinson's converts, and had been sorely blamed by the pastors and people of the outlying settlements, as being responsible for all the trouble; and I cannot doubt that his espousal of the cause was of vast weight in the community. He therefore called the General Court together, and desired leave to

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resign his office. In view of the rising difficulties with the French and Indians, this astonishing request was not at once heeded; but the young Governor "brake into tears," and persisted that since he had been accused of causing these miserable dissensions, it was best that he withdraw from office and the country. He was allowed to vacate his office; but he lingered awhile in Boston, and had to take some pretty plain talk from Hugh Peter, when the latter came down from Salem, to the purpose that he was too presuming and heady for so young a man. And perhaps he was, though, in view of his later life, I do not like to think he did aught ill in his youth.

The woman who fomented all this trouble has been variously described. She has been called a virago, a Jezebel, an impudent woman, a cunning woman. No account of her personal appearance remains, but her descendants have been remarkable for their beauty. She was an energetic and kindly creature, who not only administered to the spiritual wants of her fellow-citizens, but took care of them in sickness, and was helpful in many ways. She was a near neighbor of Margaret Winthrop, — their pitchers were filled at the same spring, which still flows under the Boston Post-office, — but I cannot believe that

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the Governor's wife ever attended any of her meetings, even the earlier ones. The Governor had to bear many personal slights in this matter, — slights which must have hurt his wife through him. When he was appointed Governor, after Vane's failure in that position, the Boston men, who had acted as Governor's guards, laid down their halberds and left their trusted old friend without a guard of honor. The indignant colony would have sent a detail for duty to take the place of these insulting Boston men; and Boston soon churlishly offered another guard, which Winthrop refused, and appointed two of his own servants to act thus; but he reminded his neighbors that the place should be honored, whether the man was or not.

This matter of the insolent guard may appear trivial to us to-day, but it was not so in Winthrop's time. To form an idea of the value of forms and ceremonies, and proper regard to dignity in that day, one has only to read the early history of Virginia; neither starvation, pestilence, nor absurd incongruities could deter the colonists from a pompous regard of etiquette and ceremony.

There is a grim epilogue to this religious drama. Anne Hutchinson went from Massachusetts to Rhode Island, "surnamed by some

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the Island of Errors." Her fate may be told by the author of the Rise, Reigne and Ruine of Antinomianism, etc, —

"Mistress Hutchinson being weary of the Island, or rather the Island weary of her, departed thence with all her family, her daughter and her children, to live under the Dutch near a place called by seamen and in the map, Hell Gate. And now I am come to the last act of her tragedy, a most heavy stroak upon herself and hers as I received it very lately from a godly hand in New England. There the Indians set upon them and slew her and all her family, and her daughter's husband and all their children save one that escaped, a dreadful blow. Some write that the Indians did burn her to death with fire, her house and all the rest named that belonged to her; but I am not able to affirm by what kind of death they slew her, but slain she is. I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this commit the like outrage upon any one family or families; and therefore Gods hand is more apparently seen herein, to pick out this woful woman, to make her and those belonging to her an unheardof heavy example of their cruelty."

This pious accounting for ill and good fortune was, to use a very vulgar but thoroughly expressive comparison, of the "heads I win, tails you lose," theory of Providence, by which our Puritan ancestors always explained their own successes and good fortunes as a mark of

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the evident approval of God, while a precisely similar success of their adversaries — were they Indians, Quakers, or Antinomians — was always the recompensing reward of Satan to his followers; and their own ill-hap was surely the work of the devil to annoy the saints, while the ills of their adversaries showed the triumph of the Lord. This was, on the whole, a very satisfactory and comfortable arrangement; far more adjustable to circumstances than any other theory could ever prove. So, of course, when Anne Hutchinson was slain by Indians, the explanation and assignable cause stood on an altogether different basis than when John Oldham of Watertown was murdered by them. Truly one could say of the heavenly ruler of the Puritans, —

> "God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform."

The colonists reaped a sad "aftermath of vainglorious weeds" as a result of the broadcast sowing of the seed of the Hutchinsonian heresies. What Shakespeare called "fanatical phantasms" filled many a brain. The "venting of revelations" seems to need little foundation for active propagation and mischief-working, save a voluble tongue and a

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certain vocabulary of mystical terms; and Massachusetts women who owned the former by nature soon acquired the second by art or imitation. One of these female prophets who ultimately proved most troublesome to the Massachusetts magistrates, was Mary Dyer, "the wife of one William Dyer a milliner in the New Exchange, a very proper and fair woman, and both of them notoriously infected with Mrs Hutchinsons errors, and very censorious and troublesome, she being of a very proud spirit and much addicted to revelations." She was banished, but could not stay away from Boston, — that attractive field for transcendentalists; and when she returned, Governor John Winthrop was dead, and under a more bigoted and harsher magistracy she lost her life on the scaffold.

Poor, unhappy Massachusetts! the zeal for prophesying spread from Boston to neighboring towns. Winthrop wrote: —

"The devil would never cease to disturb our peace, and to raise up instruments one after another. Amongst the rest there was a woman in Salem, one Oliver his wife who had suffered somewhat in England for refusing to bow at the name of Jesus though otherwise conformable to all their orders. She was for ability of speech and appearance of zeal and devotion far before Mrs Hutchinson, and

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so the fitter instrument to have done hurt, but that she was poor and had little acquaintance. . . . This woman was adjudged to be whipped for reproaching the magistrates. She stood without tying, and bare her punishment with a masculine spirit, glorying in her suffering. But after when she came to consider the reproach which would stick to her she was much dejected about it. She had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the elders."

"At Providence also the devil was not idle. For whereas at their first coming thither, Mr. Williams and the rest did make an order that no man should be molested for his conscience, now mens wives and children and servants claimed liberty thereby to go to all religious meetings, though never so often, or though private, upon the week days; and because one Verin refused to let his wife go to Mr Williams so oft as she was called for, they required to have him censured. But there stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own company, and withstood it, telling them that when he consented to that order he never intended it should extend to any breach of the ordinance of God such as the subjection of wives to their husbands &c. and gave divers solid reasons against it.

"Then one Greene replied that if they should restrain their wives &c. all the women in the country would cry out of them. Arnold answered him thus; Did you pretend to leave the Massachusetts, because you would not offend God to please men,

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and would you now break a command and ordinance of God to please women. Some were of opinion that if Verin would not suffer his wife to have her liberty, the church should dispose her to some other man who would use her better."

When we read of all these sad disorders, these wretched strains upon the New England church, we can well understand the vehemence with which that old Roxbury gentleman, Thomas Dudley, ended his dying message or epitaph.

"Farewell dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends.
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.
Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's *I dy'd no libertine.*"

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XI

ACADIA AND NEW ENGLAND

THERE was one episode of Margaret Winthrop's life in Boston which deserves more than a passing reference; for it brought an element of diversity, of Gallic frivolity, of romance, into that rather sad-colored atmosphere, which must have been most exciting to all Boston, and specially to the Governor and his wife. I refer to the relations of Acadia with New England, to the visits of the rival governors of that northern province, La Tour and D'Aulnay, and also the more surprising visit of Madam La Tour.

Acadia was at that time a debatable land; even its name was uncertain, for it was also called Nova Scotia. It belonged by discovery to the English; but the French made the earliest successful settlement, and secured the confidence and assistance of the Indians. In 1632 Sieur D'Aulnay De Charnisé appeared in Acadia as lieutenant under De Razillai. At the latter's death, in 1636, D'Aulnay claimed

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to be successor in command. His forts were at Pentagoet (Penobscot) and at Port Royal (Annapolis). Across the Bay of Fundy was another presumptive governor, Sir Charles St. Etienne Sieur de la Tour of France, Baronet of Nova Scotia, with his fort at the mouth of the St. John. Both were trappers, eager to make money, eager to trade with New England. La Tour was a shuffling, intriguing, pleasing fellow, not very high-minded, nor, in the light of our scant records, very courageous. He alone was not at all a match for D'Aulnay; but he had a wife, Frances Mary Jacqueline, who had all the qualities he lacked, and the twain made a formidable enemy.

Both governors, after many quarrels, sought aid in France; and as D'Aulnay was a true and devoted Catholic, he naturally found most favor there, while La Tour was under suspicion of harboring Huguenots and Protestants, — which was in direct opposition to the conditions upon which the grant was given to the Company of New France. He certainly did have some close connections with the Protestants, but, like Malvolio, "The devil a Puritan he was, or anything but a time-pleaser." At any rate, he always had Roman Catholic priests about him at St. Johns; and

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the Company of New France, soon "having knowledge of the zeal of said La Tour for the Catholic religion," made to him an extensive additional concession of grants of land at Port Royal and Cape Sable.

Yet, when in 1641 he sent a messenger to Boston seeking aid, he had the craft, perhaps I should say the good sense, to employ therefor one Monsieur Rochett, a Protestant; and when in 1642 "La Tour his lieutenant" came to Boston as a pleading ambassador, he too played his part of interest in the Puritan church, and did not forget his flattery. Winthrop made this confiding entry at this date in his journal: —

> "They brought letters from La Tour the governor full of compliments and desire of assistance from us against Monsieur D'Aulnay. They staid about a week and were kindly entertained; and though they were papists they came to our church meetings; and the lieutenant seemed to be much affected to find things as he did, and professed he never saw as good order in any place. One of the elders gave him a Testament with Marlorats notes, which he kindly accepted and promised to read it."

We do not need to be told that the fervent prayers of the good Governor and his wife Margaret accompanied this diplomatic and truckling lieutenant on his journey back to

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Acadia, — that he might be a brand plucked from the burning.

The next arrival and visit of La Tour must be told in Governor Winthrop's own words. To me it is a most graphic and interesting description written in a strikingly lucid style, which enables any reader with the slightest creative imagination to see clearly not only the picture of the interviews, but the character of the two men; the Gallic effusiveness, insincerity, and persuasiveness standing out as plainly as the somewhat ceremonious and formal but thoroughly upright and hospitable nature of the Puritan.

Governor La Tour's arrival in April, 1643, is thus recorded by Governor Winthrop in his History of New England: —

"Mr. La Tour arrived here in a ship of 140 tons, and 140 persons. The ship came from Rochelle, the master and his company were protestants. There were two friars and two women sent to wait upon La Tour his lady. They came in with a fair wind, without any notice taken of them. They took a pilot out of one of our boats at sea, and left one of their men in his place. Capt. Gibbons' wife and children passed by the ship as they were going to their farm, but being discovered to La Tour by one of his gentlemen who knew her, La Tour manned out a shallop,

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which he towed after him to go speak with her. She seeing such a company of strangers making towards her, hastened to get from them, and landed at the governour's garden. La Tour landed presently after her, and there found the governour and his wife, and two of his sons, and his son's wife, and after mutual salutations he told the governour the cause of his coming, viz. that his ship being sent him out of France, D' Aulnay, his old enemy, had so blocked up the river to his fort at St. John's, with two ships and a galliot, as his ship could not get in, whereupon he stole by in the night in his shallop, and was come to crave aid to convey him into his fort.

"The governour answered that he could say nothing to it till he had conferred with other of the magistrates; so after supper he went with him to Boston in La Tour's boat, having sent his own boat to Boston to carry home Mrs. Gibbons. Divers boats, having passed by him, had given notice hereof to Boston and Charlestown, his ship also arriving before Boston, the towns betook them to their arms, and three shallops with armed men came forth to meet the governour and to guard him home. But here the Lord gave us occasion to take notice of our weakness, etc., for if La Tour had been ill minded towards us, he had such an opportunity as we hope neither he nor any other shall ever have the like again; for coming by our castle and saluting it, there was none to answer him, for the last court had given order to have the castle-Island deserted, a great part of the work

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being fallen down, etc., so as he might have taken all the ordnance there. Then, having the governour and his family, and Captain Gibbons' wife, etc., in his power, he might have gone and spoiled Boston, and having so many men ready, they might have taken two ships in the harbor, and gone away without danger or resistance, but his neglecting this opportunity gave us assurance of his true meaning. So being landed at Boston, the governour, with a sufficient guard, brought him to his lodging at Captain Gibbons'. This gave further assurance that he intended us no evil, because he voluntarily put his person in our power.

"The next day the governour called together such of the magistrates as were at hand, and some of the deputies, and propounding the cause to them, and La Tour being present, and the captain of his ship, etc., he showed his commission, which was fairly engrossed in parchment under the hand and seal of the Vice Admiral of France, and grand prior, etc., to bring supply to La Tour, whom he styled his majesty's lieutenant general of L'Acadye, and also a letter from the agent of the company of France to whom he hath reference, informing him of the injurious practices of D'Aulnay against him, and advising him to look to himself, etc., and superscribed to him as lieutenant general, etc. Upon this it appeared to us, (that being dated in April last,) that notwithstanding the news which D'Aulnay had sent to our governour the last year, whereby La Tour was proclaimed a rebel, etc., yet he stood in good terms with the state of France, and also

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with the company. Whereupon, though we could not grant him aid without advice of the other commissioners of our confederacy, yet we thought it not fit nor just to hinder any that would be willing to be hired to aid him; and accordingly we answered him that we would allow him a free mercate, that he might hire any ships which lay in our harbor, etc. This answer he was very well satisfied with and took very thankfully; he also desired leave to land his men, that they might refresh themselves, which was granted him, so they landed in small companies, that our women, etc., might not be affrighted by them. This direction was duly observed.

"But the training day at Boston falling out the next week, and La Tour having requested that he might be permitted to exercise his soldiers on shore, we expected him that day, so he landed 40 men in their arms, (they were all shot). They were brought into the field by our train band, consisting of 150, and in the forenoon they only beheld our men exercise. When they had dined, (La Tour and his officers with our officers, and his soldiers invited home by the private soldiers,) in the afternoon they were permitted to exercise, (our governour and other of the magistrates coming then into the field,) and all ours stood and beheld them. They were very expert in all their postures and motions.

"When it was near night, La Tour desired our governour that his men might have leave to depart, which being granted, his captain acquainted our

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captain therewith, so he drew our men into a march, and the French fell into the middle. When they were to depart, they gave a volley of shot and went to their boat, the French showing much admiration to see so many men of one town so well armed and disciplined, La Tour professing he could not have believed it, if he had not seen it. Our governour and others in the town entertained La Tour and his gentlemen with much courtesy, both in their houses and at table. La Tour came duly to our church meetings, and always accompanied the governour to and from thence, who all the time of his abode here was attended with a good guard of halberts and musketeers.

"But the rumor of these things soon spreading through the country, were diversely apprehended, not only by the common sort, but also by the elders, whereof some in their sermons spoke against their entertainment, and the aid permitted them; others spake in the justification of both. One [blank] a judicious minister, hearing that leave was granted them to exercise their men in Boston, out of his fear of popish leagues, and care of our safety, spake as in way of prediction, that, before that day were ended, store of blood would be spilled in Boston. Divers also wrote to the governour, laying before him great dangers, others charging sin upon the conscience of all these proceedings; so as he was forced to write and publish the true state of the cause, and the reasons of all their proceedings, which satisfied many, but not all. Also, the masters and others, who were to go in the ships,

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desired advice about their proceedings, etc. whereupon the governour appointed another meeting, to which all the near magistrates and deputies, and the elders also were called, and there the matter was debated upon these heads.

"1. Whether it were lawful for Christians to aid idolaters, and how far we may hold communion with them?

"2. Whether it were safe for our state to suffer him to have aid from us against D'Aulnay?"

"In the evening La Tour took ship, the governour and divers of the chief of the town accompanying him to his boat. There went with him four of our ships and a pinnace. He hired them for two months, the chiefest, which had 16 pieces of ordnance, at 200 pounds the month; yet she was of but 100 tons, but very well manned and fitted for fight, and the rest proportionable. The owners took only his own security for their pay. He entertained also about 70 land soldiers, volunteers, at 40s. per month a man, but he paid them somewhat in hand."

"Three errors the governour, etc., committed in managing this business. 1. In giving La Tour an answer so suddenly (the very next day after his arrival). 2. In not advising with any of the elders, as their manner was in matters of less consequence. 3. In not calling upon God, as they were wont to do in all public affairs, before they fell to consultation, etc.

"The occasions of these errors were, first, their

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earnest desire to despatch him away, and conceiving at first they should have given him the same answer they gave his lieutenant the last year, for they had not then seen the Vice Admiral's commission. 2. Not then conceiving any need of counsel, the elders never came into the governour's thoughts. 3. La Tour and many of the French coming into them at first meeting, and some taking occasion to fall in parley with them, there did not appear then a fit opportunity for so solemn an action as calling upon God, being in the midst of their business before they were aware of it. But this fault hath been many times found in the governour to be oversudden in his resolutions, for although the course were both warrantable and safe, yet it had beseemed men of wisdom and gravity to have proceeded with more deliberation and further advice."

There is much to be noted in this story. We can see the impression made upon Winthrop through the fact that the master and his company were Protestants, and that the insincere Frenchman attended faithfully all the church meetings; and we can surmise the inferential bearing of the statement that the two friars were sent for Madam La Tour. We can read between the lines the punctilious Governor's intense mortification at the exceedingly informal and even undignified condition of affairs upon the arrival of the stranger; the Castle Island and fort deserted, and hence no wel-

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coming (and also threatening) salute. And no governor would wish to have the ruler of a neighboring state heralded solely by the hurried words of a badly scared woman-neighbor. We find Winthrop trying to recover his wounded dignity, and to eradicate the lowering impression by bourgeoning throughout the remainder of La Tour's stay with an imposing guard of soldiers, and recounting the Frenchman's praise of the discipline of the Boston soldiers.

The closing sentences show the Governor's trials in the matter, the annoying advice which he received, and the equally harassing advice he had to give. And his frank recounting and explanation of his "three errors" shows his truthfulness and painstaking, not only to do right, but to do right just in the way his people wished him to do. He was glad enough to be well rid of the Frenchman; but others of their ilk were quickly to follow, and Madam La Tour arrived a few days after her husband's departure.

"The Lady La Tour arrived here in a ship set forth from London by Alderman Berkley and Captain Bayley. They were bound for La Tour's fort, and set forth in the spring, but spent so much time in trading by the way, etc., as when they came at Cape Sable, Monsieur D'Aulnay came up

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to them in a ship from France, so as they durst not discover what they were, but stood along for Boston. The lady, being arrived, brought her action against them for delaying her so long at sea, whereby she lost the opportunity of relieving her fort, and must be at excessive charges to get thither. The cause was openly heard at a special court at Boston before all the magistrates, and a jury of principal men impanelled, (most merchants and seamen,) and the charter party being read, and witnesses produced, it appeared to the court, that they had broken charter party, so as the jury gave her 2000 pounds damages. Whereupon the cargo of the ship was seized in execution (so much of it as could be found) and being meal, and peas, and trading stuff, etc., and being appraised by four men, sworn etc., it was found to the value of 1100 pounds. The defendants desired liberty till the next year to bring a review, pretending they had evidence in England, etc. It was granted them, and they were offered to have all their goods again, (except 100 pounds for defraying the lady's present charges in Boston, for which they should have good security, etc.,) so as they would put in security to answer the whole 2000 pounds, if they did not reverse the judgment within the year. This they refused, and would give security for no more than what they should receive back; whereupon the execution proceeded. But the master of the ship brought his action upon the goods in execution for security for his freight and men's wages (which did amount to near the

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whole extended). The jury found against him, whereupon at the next general court he petitioned for redress. A great part of the court was of opinion, that the goods, being his security by charter party, ought not to be taken from him upon the execution, and most of the deputies, and the deputy governour, and some others of the magistrates voted that way; but the greater part of the magistrates being of the other side, he would not be relieved. The lady was forced to give 700 pounds to three ships to carry her home."

Winthrop and the government were destined to bitter reprisal for this friendliness, — both in London, where two New England gentlemen were arrested and fined for the decision in favor of the lady, and in the anger of D'Aulnay.

A visit of D'Aulnay's ambassadors is told in equally spirited and graphic language: —

"Being the Lord's day, and the people ready to go to the assembly after dinner, Monsieur Marie and Monsieur Louis, with Monsieur D'Aulnay his secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water side, who conducted them to their lodgings *sine strepitu*. The public worship being ended, the governour repaired home, and sent major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers to attend them to the governour's house, who, meeting them without his

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door, carried them into his house, where they were entertained with wine and sweetmeats, and after a while he accompanied them to their lodgings (being the house of major Gibbons, where they were entertained that night.) The next morning they repaired to the governour, and delivered him their commission, which was in form of a letter directed to the governour and magistrates. It was open, but had a seal only let into the paper with a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the magistrates use to diet in court times; and the governour accompanies them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the governour's house every morning about eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting; and at night either himself or some of the commissioners accompanied them to their lodging.

"It was the third day at noon before our commissioners could come together. When they were met they propounded great injuries and damages, sustained by Captain Hawkins and our men, in assistance of La Tour, and would have engaged our government therein. We denied that we had any hand, either by commission or permission in that action. We only gave way to La Tour to hire assistance to conduct his ship home, according to the request made to us in the commission of the vice admiral of France. And for that which was done by our men beyond our commission, we showed Monsieur D'Aulnay's letter to our governour, by Captain Bayley, wherein he writes, that the king of France had laid all the blame upon the vice admiral, and

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commanded him not to break with us, upon that occasion. We also alleged that the peace formerly concluded without any reservation of those things. They replied, that howsoever the king of France had remitted his own interest, yet he had not nor intended to deprive Monsieur D'Aulnay of his private satisfaction. Here they did stick two days. Their commissioners alleged damages to the value of 8000 pounds, but did not stand upon the value. They would have accepted of very small satisfaction, if we would have acknowledged any guilt in our government. In the end they came to this conclusion; we accepted their commissioner's answer, in satisfaction of those things we had charged upon Monsieur D'Aulnay, and they accepted our answer for clearing our government of what he had charged upon us; and because we could not free Captain Hawkins and the other voluntaries of what they had done, we were to send a small present to Monsieur D'Aulnay in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted, and so a final peace to be concluded.

"Accordingly we sent Monsieur D'Aulnay by his commissioners a very fair new sedan, (worth forty or fifty pounds where it was made, but of no use to us,) sent by the viceroy of Mexico to a lady his sister, and taken in the West Indies by Captain Cromwell, and by him given to our governor. This the commissioners very well accepted; and so the agreement being signed in several instruments, by the commissioners of both parts, on 28 day of the same month, they took leave and departed to

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their pinnace, the governour and our commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers, and gave them five guns from Boston, three from Charlestown, and five from Castle Island, and we sent them aboard a quarter cask of sack and some mutton. They answered all our salutations with such small pieces as they had, and so set sail, major Sedgwick and some other gentlemen accompanying them as far as Castle Island. The Lord's day they were here, the governour, acquainting them with our manner, that all men either come to our public meetings, or keep themselves quiet in their houses, and finding that the place where they lodged would not be convenient for them that day, invited them home to his house, where they continued private all that day until sunset, and made use of such books, Latin and French, as he had, and the liberty of a private walk in his garden, and so gave no offence, etc."

There was much of interest in these visits of the Acadian Governors. The elders found it in meeting those of another faith and of intelligence, —

"Of the two friars which came in this ship, the one was a very learned acute man. Divers of our elders who had conference with him reported so of him. They came not into the town, lest they should give offence, but once, being brought by some to see Mr. Cotton and confer with him, and

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when they came to depart, the chief came to take leave of the governour and the two elders of Boston, and showed himself very thankful for the courtesy they found among us."

The general public found it in the various events — often disorderly — which always take place when a ship-load of foreigners is turned loose in a small seaport town. Winthrop gave this account of one amusing occurrence:

"There fell out a troublesome business at Boston, upon this occasion. There arrived here a Portugal ship with salt, having in it two Englishmen only. One of these happened to be drunk, and was carried to his lodging, and the constable, (a godly man, and zealous against such disorders,) hearing of it, found him out, being upon his bed asleep, so he awaked him, and led him to the stocks, there being no magistrate at home. He being in the stocks, one of La Tour's gentlemen lifted up the stocks and let him out. The constable, hearing of it, went to the Frenchman, (being then gone and quiet,) and would needs carry him to the stocks; the Frenchman offered to yield himself to go to prison, but the constable, not understanding his language, pressed him to go to the stocks; the Frenchman resisted and drew his sword; with that company came in and disarmed him, and carried him by force to the stocks, but soon after the constable took him out and carried him to prison, and presently after took him forth again and delivered

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him to La Tour. Much tumult there was about this; many Frenchmen were in town, and other strangers, which were not satisfied with this dealing of the constable, yet were quiet. In the morning the magistrates examined the cause and sent for La Tour, who was much grieved for his servant's miscarriage, and also for the disgrace put upon him, (for in France it is a most ignominious thing to be laid in the stocks,) but yet he complained not of any injury, but left him wholly to the magistrates to do with him what they pleased. The magistrates told him, they were sorry to have any such occasion against any of his servants, but they must do justice, and therefore they must commit him to prison, except he could find sureties to be forth coming, to answer, etc., and to keep the peace. La Tour's gentlemen offered to engage themselves for him. They answered, they might not take security of strangers in this case, otherwise they would have desired no more than La Tour's own word. Upon this two Englishmen, members of the church of Boston, standing by, offered to be his sureties, whereupon he was bailed till he should be called for, because La Tour was not like to stay till the court."

Very soon after Madam La Tour's perilous return to her husband, he left his brave wife to keep his fort against D'Aulnay, and again went to Boston to seek further aid. This time generous Mr. Maverick took him into his home, and bore with him and his complaints

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for many months. Frances Mary La Tour, left alone in her husband's fort, with but few soldiers and scant provisions, in the bleak and bitter Northern winter, promptly turned out of her garrison "the friars and their confederates," — which does not look as if *she* were the priest-lover of the twain. It was, perhaps, a natural step to be rid of those who only ate and said mass but would not fight; but it was not a very wise one, for the spiritual fathers went at once to their devout friend D'Aulnay, and told him the weakness of the woman-commanded garrison. He collected his ships and his forces, and at once assailed Madam's fort, and was repulsed by this Canadian French Joan of Arc, with great loss of life among D'Aulnay's soldiers. He rallied, and after a second and violent attack of three days and three nights, through "assault and escalado," and the bribery of a Swiss guard, on Easter Sunday he got within the walls, where the brave woman only surrendered (so one account says) upon condition that the lives of all within the fort be spared. If this promise were given, D'Aulnay shamelessly broke it; for all were ignominiously hanged save two, — one who turned executioner, and Madam La Tour herself, who, standing with a halter around her neck like

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a degraded felon, witnessed the death of her friends and followers. It broke her valiant yet womanly heart; she died in three weeks "of grief and vexation." D'Aulnay, further to loot the deserted fort, carried off ten thousand pounds worth of "jewels, plate, household furniture, ordnance and other valuables." Winthrop wrote with caustic good sense:

> "The more was his folly to leave so much substance in so great danger, when he might have brought the most of it to Boston, whereby he might have discharged his engagements of more than 2500 pounds to Major Edward Gibbons, (who by this loss was now quite undone,) and might have had somewhat to have maintained himself and his men; for want thereof his servants were forced to go out of the country, some to the Dutch, and others to France, and he himself to lie at other men's charge."

Monsieur La Tour would now seem to be also "quite undone," — but not so the resilient Frenchman. He sailed away to Newfoundland, and then back to Boston, then off to Hudson's Bay, ever turning round the Protestant side of the shield when he found confiding Englishmen to trust him with more money, until at last D'Aulnay died; so once more Acadia became his goal. But not in war came this man of experience; why fight

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for forts, and land tracts, and fishing rights, and the ten thousand pounds worth of movables, when all might be speedily and bloodlessly settled in the courts of love? There was a Governor's widow, and Jane Moten D'Aulnay was a willing arbitrator in these peaceful lists; and with her letters patent of the original grant to husband D'Aulnay, and fresh letters and grants to new husband La Tour for "forty-two years spent in converting savages to the Catholic religion," the wedded pair started happily a new life, — with but scant thought, I fear, for the brave Catholic soldier-husband and the brave heart-broken soldier-wife.

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XII

PUBLIC EVENTS AND CLOSING DAYS

On many of the details of Winthrop's public life I shall dwell but shortly in this biography of his wife. They have all been told in graphic language in his journal, and with corroborative evidence from other sources in many histories of New England. Under his government it early became a law, in 1631, that none should be freemen who were not church-members; this, of course, simplified government. In 1634 was established the Representative System of New England, by which each town sent deputies to assist in making laws. In 1641 a code of laws was adopted, called the Body of Liberties, drawn up, curiously enough, not by a magistrate, but by a minister, Nathaniel Ward, the "Simple Cobbler of Agawam." Hawthorne says of him, "He hammered his sole so faithfully and stitched his upper leathers so well that the shoe is hardly yet worn out." Till then there

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had been no statutes for administration of justice, and no direct recognition of the Common Law of England; everything was at the absolute discretion of the magistrates. These laws were not printed until 1649. The whole Body of Liberties, with Ward's preamble, as adopted in 1641, was not printed till two centuries later. It was a most humane body of laws for the times, with but eleven capital offences to the thirty-two of English laws. In 1643 counties were set off, and naturally named for English shires: Suffolk, with Boston at its head, and seven other towns; Norfolk, with Salisbury at its head, and five other towns; Middlesex, with Charlestown at its head, and eight other towns; thus had the Commonwealth grown. In 1636 the College was endowed, named Harvard in 1638, and held its first Commencement in 1642. Grammar schools were ordered by the Court in all the towns; the "ffountaines of learning" in the new world were never corrupted, but were ever stimulated and increased.

The public life of Governor Winthrop in Boston brought him through some troubled waters, not only in the adjustment of important matters of state, but in petty annoyances. His inharmonious relations with Governor Dudley seem to have been the most incessant

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and most irritating. Thomas Dudley was a man of as marked character and strong will as Winthrop, and, by Winthrop's own testimony, "of approved wisdom and godliness and of much good service to the country." He had had a varied career: he served as a page to the Earl of Northumberland; commanded a company under Henry IV. at the siege of Amiens, when only twenty-one years old; as steward to the Earl of Lincoln, he had successfully ridded the latter's vast estate of debt. He was a shrewd lawyer, intelligent and prudent; but he was arbitrary and hot-tempered. Governor Winthrop thus described one of their frequent quarrels: —

> "The Deputy rose up in great fury and passion, and the governour grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness but by mediation of the mediators they were pacified."

But when at a later day the Deputy sent a letter "full of bitterness the Governor handed it back to the bearer, saying 'I am not willing to keep such an occasion of provocation by me.' And at last at a division of land in Concord they did name two great stones that divided the land The Two Brothers, in remembrance that they were brothers by their children's marriage and did so brotherly

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agree." And there the two great stones stand to-day, memorials of these two Massachusetts worthies.

Throughout all the years of Winthrop's life in New England, he was tireless in his thoughts and efforts to preserve the Royal Charter which had been granted by Charles I. on the eve of his departure for America. It proved no easy work, to devise means to retain it. The fell glance of Laud did not fall alone on the works and ways of the Puritans in England. He eyed with antipathy and with firm intent of mischief, the settlement in New England, where all that his soul fairly abhorred was not only rife but flourishing. He vainly sought to hinder and prevent the departure of the company in 1633 in which were numbered Hooker, Haynes, Stone, and Cotton; and shortly after he succeeded in abolishing the old Council for New England, and in placing the control of English colonial affairs in a special Commission. This Commission consisted of himself, the Archbishop of York, six peers, and three Court officers, and power was given it to recall letters-patent. Speedily an order came across seas, conveyed through ex-Governor Cradock, requesting the return of the Charter of Massachusetts to England. Shrewd Winthrop sent word, not to the

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Commission, but to Cradock, that no answering action could be taken till the meeting of the General Court in September. Even then no reply was sent to England; but the magistrates consulted with the ministers, and a significant portion of the ministerial advice was "to avoid and protract." This line of avoidance and protraction was studiously carried out, and it protected the Charter for fifty years, when New England liberty and prosperity were too firmly established to be destroyed by the loss of any Royal patent.

The Commission, or Laud, then systematically went to work to stop emigration, but was wholly unsuccessful. The King then appointed Gorges Governor-General of all New England, and assigned him a thousand soldiers as escort thither, and to enforce his rule; but, as Winthrop wrote, "the Lord frustrated their design," for the vessel which was to have borne Gorges to these shores fell asunder on being launched; and the Vice Admiral Mason, a fierce opponent of Winthrop's government, died. "The Lord, in mercy, taking him away, all the business fell on sleep." And just at that interval in affairs, the King found too many pressing cares at home in Scotland to have time to think of or meddle with his New England colony.

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In the summer of 1638 twenty ships and over three thousand persons came to settle in Massachusetts, in spite of the attempted hindrance of Laud and the Commission; and alarmed at the prosperity of the colony, another demand, "a very strict order," was made for the return to England of the Charter.

The answer to this demand, written in Winthrop's best form of composition, has always amused me; for, though truthful, it is undeniably shrewd. Mr. S. G. Drake, in his extraordinary characterization of Winthrop, in his History of Boston, says Winthrop was "honest but artful, accomplishing his purposes as though they were the purposes of others." In this estimate I cannot join, but certainly Winthrop's answer about the Charter shows much worldly wisdom. It pleads for leave and time to answer, and does not doubt if the colonists, the Massachusetts Court, knew what was the cause of this demand, they could "put in a sufficient plea" against it. It pleads that through having transported families and estates his Majesty's dominions are enlarged in a dignified manner, while if they have no patent they will be "looked as rennigadoes," and that many evils and annoyances will follow, and thus many thousand persons will be ruined; that they will be forced to

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desert the place, leaving it free of settlement to the French and Dutch; that unruly folk will confederate with the new government; and — very politely expressed — it will make others lack confidence in the King's future grants. It is all very manly and simple and direct in expression, but no one could read it to-day without seeing the "avoid and protract" line of diplomacy. Behind *this* document there was a man, and again this man was John Winthrop; and his justifiable device was successful. Again was the Charter written for, but with some informality in conveyance of the order, and therefore no public action was taken upon it in answer. In later years, after Winthrop's death, the answers sent to the demands of the commissioners sadly lack the simplicity, dignity, and conciseness of those of Winthrop's composition. I may add that they might also take lessons of him in grammar.

The statues erected to the honor of Winthrop show him with the Bible in one hand and the Charter of Massachusetts in the other. Nothing could be more significant of his character. His good sense, and I think his personality, retained the Charter during his life; his tactics retained it for many years after.

In all this unsettled time about the Charter

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a very weighty business was transacted, the formation of the New England Confederacy. In it the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut were leagued together for common protection, and eight commissioners were appointed to form a board. The plantations in what are now Maine, Narragansett, and Rhode Island were refused admission to this Confederacy. At the first meeting of the board of commissioners John Winthrop was chosen President. This Confederacy lasted over forty years, till the time of the royal governors, and was an important factor in preserving the prosperity and promoting the progress of the Puritan country.

The emigration to Massachusetts varied much during the years of Winthrop's life. He saw every extreme. Reports of distress and scarcity returned to England immediately after his arrival, and reduced the number of arrivals for the succeeding year to less than a hundred. By 1634 only a thousand more in all had arrived. This was a great disappointment to the magistrates; but, after all, it proved a benefit to the colony. With new ways of governing, new social conditions, and delicate political adjustments going on, it was well for the community to grow slowly. Only about three hundred and fifty freemen were

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admitted in three years, — a number which could be guided and ruled with comparative ease.

But Winthrop was firm in his confidence that more emigrants would come, and he advocated the leaving at liberty of portions of the town land, to be assigned to new-comers and for the common good; and thus through his policy came that noble legacy to the Boston of all centuries, — Boston Common.

In 1634 was seen a sudden revival of emigration to New England. Matters so stood in England that great land-owners and nobles, men of blood and fortune, were preparing to follow the scholars, merchants, and farmers. John Winthrop, Jr., when wrecked in 1635 on the coast of Ireland, travelled through Ireland, then passed over to Scotland and so through the North of England; and all the way he met with persons of quality whose thoughts were towards New England, who observed his coming among them as a special providence of God. Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brooke, both stanch Puritans, announced their interest in the new world by purchases of land; Lord Warwick secured the proprietorship of the Connecticut Valley. Lord Ley came to visit; Sir Harry Vane crossed to New England. John Hampden purchased a tract of land in

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Narragansett. By tradition, a royal embargo was all that prevented Oliver Cromwell from crossing the seas. Proposals were made by "persons of quality" with regard to conditions of removing, especially as to hereditary privileges above the "common sort." The cautious answer was that while hereditary honors would be accorded, hereditary authority was out of the question. John Cotton openly advocated the establishment and maintenance of an American aristocracy. As the inquisition of Laud grew more unbearable in Great Britain, Puritans turned naturally to a land of religious liberty. In 1639 twenty thousand Puritans had come to New England, and, to the rejoicing of John Winthrop's soul, three fourths of that number came to Massachusetts.

But a day bright with new hopes was dawning in England. With Strafford beheaded and Laud in the Tower, and the convening of the Long Parliament in 1640, any homesick colonist could reasonably long for his "old home;" and many did return. And heroic spirits of this world also turned to England to render assistance to the new hopes. Winthrop says, when word came of "the hope of a reformation . . . some among us began to think of returning back to England." Margaret's son Stephen was one; eleven more of the first

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twenty graduates of Harvard went with him. Indeed, England sent over to the new world for aid in its deliberations. Ministers Cotton and Davenport and Hooker were asked to the Westminster Assembly of Divines; but they did not go. But it was not of so much importance that a few returned to England; but emigration ceased, and ships no longer arrived, hence foreign trade was dead, and exchange hampered; food supplies were short; and the Court was much harassed and worried, not liking to ask Parliament for temporary help lest Parliament try to assume authority, — and John Winthrop never forgot his precious Charter. Not till a hundred years later did New England renew the same proportion of emigration as existed in the years 1634 to 1639. Hutchinson thought that during that century more went from the colony to England then came from England to the colony. Thus we were, to use Lord Bacon's words, "built up from within, not pieced out from without;" and the result was the establishment of a homogeneity which has afforded and perpetuated a distinct type (almost a race, only, to use Freeman's expression, that would be claiming for ourselves too great a place among the nations of the earth), a type which may be fitly described by using old

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Judge Sewall's term, — true New England men.

There is one point in the character of John Winthrop which has not been dwelt upon by his biographers, but which is to me very significant of his breadth of mind and his calmness of judgment. It is his attitude towards witchcraft and witches. He came from England at a time when a belief in witchcraft was so deep-rooted that it was held almost blasphemous to doubt upon the subject. King James, the very year after his accession to the throne, set his hand to an act for the punishment of sorcerers; and the persecution of witches became a common occurrence. It is estimated that not fewer than forty thousand persons were put to death in England for witchcraft. James Howell wrote in 1647 that within the compass of two years, near three hundred witches were arraigned and the major part of them executed, in Suffolk and Essex only. Throughout Suffolk and Essex counties, and other eastern parts of England, an infamous wretch named Matthew Hopkins earned a comfortable living as a witch-finder, and his business was prosperous to a most shocking degree. I am glad to know that he at last died by water-ordeal, his own favorite witch-test, and at the hands of John Win-

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throp's old Suffolk neighbors. Reared in this belief, in the very centre of the witch-ridden district, John Winthrop's long term of magistracy in New England was not sullied until its last year by the trial of any person for witchcraft, though every county in Old England had scores of cases in that time. The record of that one case is horrible enough, however, to make it seem the one foul spot in a life otherwise as clear and pure as amber.

In the year 1645 there came into Margaret Winthrop's life an episode which must have stirred her deeply, but which, as is human nature, may not have had at all the deep significance to her at the time of its occurrence that it has to us to-day. It is known in Massachusetts history as the Impeachment of Winthrop.

Thomas Dudley was governor. He had succeeded Endicott, and had found presented for his consideration and judgment a dispute which had arisen during Endicott's term. The specific question concerned the captaincy of the train-band of the town of Hingham. The Court held that Anthony Eames was captain, as he had been first chosen and accepted; but the company mutinied against him, and he was summoned before the church. Upon Eames's complaint the minister, Peter Hobart,

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and other Hingham offenders were summoned to Boston, where they so ill behaved that the Court sent them to jail. In time Parson Hobart and eighty of his friends petitioned for a hearing upon the lawfulness of their committal, and named Winthrop as the magistrate against whom they would make their charge. The other magistrates were loath to sanction this extraordinary proceeding, but at Winthrop's desire they were permitted to have their way, and the matter came before the Court in Boston and a great assembly of people.

When Winthrop came in, he sat beneath, within the bar, uncovered, "to the grief of many present." But he said that was the fit place for an accused person, and that were he upon the bench he could not plead with the liberty he could while at the bar. The matter was under debate for some weeks. Winthrop was acquitted. The petitioners were punished by fines; and when Winthrop took his place upon the bench, "he desired leave for a little speech." This speech ranks with the memorable ones by Boston orators. It has been given in full in many histories, and has been pronounced equal to anything in antiquity, whether from philosopher or magistrate. De Tocqueville quotes one passage as a fine

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definition of liberty. It is as noble as the man who said it, as calm and clear as his judgment; and it will well bear our careful contemplation to-day. In my early school days a patriotic and intelligent teacher required all his pupils to memorize these sentences. They have ever clung in my memory, are thus specially endcared and specially significant to me, and, indeed, are to me a true definition of liberty.

"There is a twofold liberty — natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man, with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercising and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts; *Omnes sumus licentia deteriores.* This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it.

"The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without

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it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard, not only of your goods, but of your lives if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

Truly, as Mr. Robert C. Winthrop said, while American history furnishes many noble subjects for the skill of the painter, it may be doubted whether a nobler one could anywhere be found than the scene which witnessed the utterance of this address; "the calm and careworn father of the Massachusetts Colony pausing at the vacant chair he was now called to resume, and pronouncing before the little legislative assembly of the colony that admirable definition of the true nature of civil liberty."

Lowell said of the Puritan settlement at Massachusetts Bay, that they were men of business as well as religious earnestness, and that there is no better ballast for keeping the mind steady on its keel, and keeping it from all risk of crankiness, than business. The old patriarch White, in his avowal of the colonists, said with candor and shrewdness: "Nothing sorts better with Piety than Competency." John Winthrop, in his manage-

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ment of the Commonwealth, proved himself a good business man. Two hundred thousand pounds were invested in the undertaking, — a vast sum for the times, fully as important as the venture of a million pounds would be to-day. Truly the Puritans both prayed and paid their way.

Winthrop promptly put his business talent to the good of the community, to the neglect of his own affairs. The very first year of his arrival he built a bark of thirty tons' burden, and gave it the pretty name of the "Blessing of the Bay." In succeeding years others were launched. When the mercantile spirit of Hugh Peter evoked a ship of three hundred tons' burden in Salem, Boston promptly followed with one of a hundred and sixty tons. Plentiful timber, willing hands, and trusting spirits, — trusting in that the shipwrights had to take such pay as the country could make, — all made ship-building possible, though not easy work. With ship-building naturally came the establishment of rope-making for ships' shrouds and cables.

But in the faithful and engrossing pursuance of these public benefits Winthrop suffered greatly in his private estate. Ere John Winthrop, Jr., left England he sold for his father the old homestead at Groton Manor.

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Winthrop had appraised it at £5,760, a value equivalent to near a hundred thousand dollars to-day; it was sold for £4,200. This was not all John Winthrop's property at that time, yet when he died he left a poor personal estate of a hundred pounds. In 1639 he made a will. In it he names a varied estate; the house in Boston, an interest in the windmill and fishery at Mystic, land at Powder Hill Point, Ten Hills Farm, Governor's Island, half of Prudence Island in Narragansett Bay, land at Pullen Point, a lot at Concord and twelve hundred acres, also two thousand acres still due him from the country. In 1641 he signed this will, and ended it with the sad avowal of a sale of much of this estate to satisfy debts of £2,600 contracted by an unfaithful servant, one Luxford. In fact, matters were even worse than this; it proved that all his estate was gone, and this when he was no longer young.

When his losses became known, letters of sympathy poured in from all sides, — letters so beautiful that they render to us the tenderest picture of the neighborly love of the Puritans. From Plymouth came a letter written by Winslow; from Salem one written by Endicott in most noble frame; from England, from his sister, came others equally loving. And the people in the towns of the colony sent him

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£500; and well they might, in return for all the years he had served as governor without pay. And the General Court voted Margaret Winthrop three thousand acres of land; and Boston Church, the church filled with Hutchinsonians, with Antinomians, that a year before had so "slighted" and opposed him, — this church, warmed to hearty affection, sent him £200. These letters of his friends, and the canting, whining letters of Luxford, and, as a stern contrast, the letters of a faithful servant, one Tinker, form a wonderful character study, a delineation of Puritan life. In his will he commended "all to the most wise and gracious providence of the Lord who hath promised not to fail nor to forsake me, but will be a husband to my wife and a father to our children as he hath hereto been in all our struggles. Blessed be his holy name."

But he was not destined to leave his wife Margaret a widow and penniless.

In the summer of 1647, soon after he had entered upon his eleventh term as Governor, he met with sore sorrow, for on June 14th his beloved Margaret died after a short illness. The sad entry in his journal is typical of the man in its reserve and calm: —

"In this sickness the governour's wife, daughter of Sir John Tindal, Knight, left this world for a

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better, being about fifty six years of age; a woman of singular virtue modesty and piety, and specially beloved and honored of the country."

It was sixteen years since her husband had written to her in anticipation of her arrival in New England: "Oh, how it refresheth my heart to think that I shall again see thy sweet face in the land of the living; that lovely countenance that I have so much delighted in and beheld with so great content." That sweet face throughout these years of trial and hard work had still been to him his great content; and the letters of his sons show how dear it was to all her family.

Her eldest son Stephen was in Reigate, England, at the time of his mother's death. He writes: —

"We heard before of my Deare Mothers departures which was very sad tidings to me; and my losse was as much in it as any Sonnes could be in a Mother; but I know God calls me to submission; and to drawe more nearer himselfe; whose providence over us is instead of all relations; our interest in him being only durable, ye consideration whereof quiets my spirit; and yt which accompanied this sadd tidings, as if it had beene more than nature could have submitted quietly unto, was ye relation of your own Sadd and dangerous state but seeing it pleased God to continue you to us, I shall say no more of yt."

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He then thanks his father for his mother's ring and Bible. Writing a few days later to his brother John, he says: "All my comforts this yeare are mixt with the sadd newes of my mothers death. My losse in it is very much, as much as could be in a mother." Samuel Winthrop was at St. Christopher's when he heard of her death:—

> "I received the sad newes of my mother's death which I thought I could have born with a great deal more patience than I now find I canne. Praie God to season it to me that out of this great affliccon I maie receive greatest benefit. He hath promised that all things shall prove to the best to those that love and feare him; if all things, then the losee of a dearest mother, to whom I may goe but to me she ne'er can come. Griefe cutts me offe that I cannot write either what nor as I would."

No portrait or description of her exists; nor are there any save scanty references to her personal appearance. In an entry in his journal shortly after Margaret's arrival in Massachusetts, the Governor interrupts his record of affairs of Church and State to speak of the spiritual experience of the young children of "one of the magistrates." As it is his constant custom to write of himself in the third person, and of his own concerns in an impersonal way, he can refer in this entry

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only to his own family; and he ends his account thus: —

"Upon this occasion it is not impertinent (though no credit nor regard be to be had of dreams in these days) to report a dream which the father of these children had at the same time, viz. that coming into his chamber he found his wife (she was a very gracious woman) in bed, and three or four of their children lying by her, with most sweet and smiling countenances, with crowns upon their heads, and blue ribbons about their leaves. When he awaked he told his wife his dream, and made this interpretation of it, that God would take of her children to make them fellow heirs with Christ in his kingdom."

The interpretation which we can make of this dream and this account to-day, is the evidence it gives of the pure and elevated influences of the Winthrops' home life, and the characterization of Margaret Winthrop as a "very gracious woman," — which seems to me a very tender though truly reserved expression of her charms; but it is the description which has given shape in my imagination to her personality, — "a very gracious woman," with "sweet face" and "lovely countenance."

This biography of Margaret Winthrop must not be concluded without briefly telling of her

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children and her descendants. Four of her eight children died in infancy, — Nathaniel, Anne, William, and Sarah. Stephen, her oldest child, became Recorder and Representative in New England, but in England, the country of his birth, became Colonel, then Major-General in the Parliamentary Army. He also sat in one of Cromwell's Parliaments. His wife was Judith Rainsborough, sister of a Colonel in the Parliamentary Army, and also sister of John Winthrop's fourth wife. He left daughters only; so the name of Winthrop became extinct in that line.

Adam Winthrop, her second child, married the step-daughter of President Dunster of Harvard College, Elizabeth Glover, and died leaving one son, Adam, who left a son Adam, who was Chief Justice, and a daughter Mary. From Chief Justice Adam Winthrop were descended Professor John W. Winthrop of Harvard College, the astronomer and Revolutionary patriot, and his sons John; Adam, who was lost at sea; William, who died in 1825; and the late Judge James Winthrop. John had two sons, John and Adam; but the name Winthrop is now extinct in this line. From Mary, daughter of the third Adam, came a large and honorable line of godly descendants, whose lives would have exceedingly rejoiced

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the souls of John and Margaret Winthrop. She married Colonel John Ballantine. Her sons were Rev. John Ballantine of Westfield, Mass., another Rev. John his son; Rev. Wm. Gay Ballantine, of Washington, Mass.; Rev. Henry Ballantine, long a missionary in India, whose children and grandchildren are now missionaries there and consuls; Rev. John Winthrop Ballantine, of Ridgfield, Conn., is another son. Another great-grandson of Mary Winthrop was Rev. Elisha Ballantine, Professor of Greek in Indiana University. His children are Rev. Dr. Henry W. Ballantine, of Baltimore, Md.; Rev. Dr. Wm. G. Ballantine, President of Oberlin College; Mary, the mother of Rev. Paul Brown of Colorado; and Anna T. Ballantine, Lady Principal of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Deane Winthrop, Margaret's third son, married Sarah Glover, and had a large family of children. He lived to great old age, but his son died unmarried before him.

Samuel Winthrop, her fourth son, married a Dutch lady, and became Governor of Antigua. Though he had several sons, of whom three were married, the male line became extinct in that generation. Among his descendants in the female line were Admiral Lord Lyons and his son Lord Lyons, long minister from

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Great Britain to this country; and the present Duke of Norfolk; thus the blood of the Puritan mother runs in the veins of the most prominent Roman Catholic nobleman in England.

It was given to Margaret Winthrop to endure in her fifty-six years of life a far wider and deeper range of emotions and experiences than has fallen to the lot of many women. A sheltered girlhood was rudely shocked by the murder of her father. She was parted from her beloved husband by an unknown ocean, which must have seemed to her a sea of despair, of horrible danger, if she could think the Thames perilous; she bravely faced and endured that venturous voyage herself, and encountered with courage the fears and hardships of a pioneer life in a strange savage world. She was brought thither, to use her husband's powerful words, "through the swelling seas, through perills of pyrates, tempests, leakes, fires, rocks, sands, diseases, starvings; and the colony was here preserved these many years through displeasure of Princes, the envy and rage of Prelates, the malignant plots of Jesuits, the mutinous contentions of discontented persons, the open and secret attempts of barbarous Indians, the seditions and undermining practices of hereticall false brethren."

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Margaret Winthrop was saddened by the death of children, and she had to bear that rending of a mother's heart, — the burial of a child at sea. She had a life of hard work, of many cares, and she experienced entire loss of fortune; yet I think her life was a happy one, for there was one bitter cup she was never forced to taste, — that of disgrace; and in all her sorrows and fears she was cheered and strengthened not only by an inspired religious faith, but by a love such as is the fortune of few women to arouse and retain; a love so tender, so thoughtful, so sheltering, that it might well prove to her, as her husband said, a symbol of the everlasting love of her Heavenly Father.

Throughout her life she ever displayed traits of character, disposition, and faith that were most noble and beautiful, and render her fit to stand as the emblem and personification of what I have learned to believe is one of the purest types of womanhood, — the Puritan wife and mother.

That type belongs to an existence that has forever passed from this earth; but it has an immortal soul which still lives, and speaks to us with clear voice down through the centuries, teaching us the lesson of Margaret Winthrop's life, which we need and may heed:

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not the spiritual lesson of her trusting piety and affection, for, happily, we still have among us plenty of God-fearing, affectionate wives; but a lesson which is far more urgent to-day, — a regard of the beauty in woman's life of home-loving, home-keeping, home-influencing; and a consideration of the true dignity which comes from simplicity of living, simplicity in dress, in home-furnishing, in hospitality, in all social and domestic relations.

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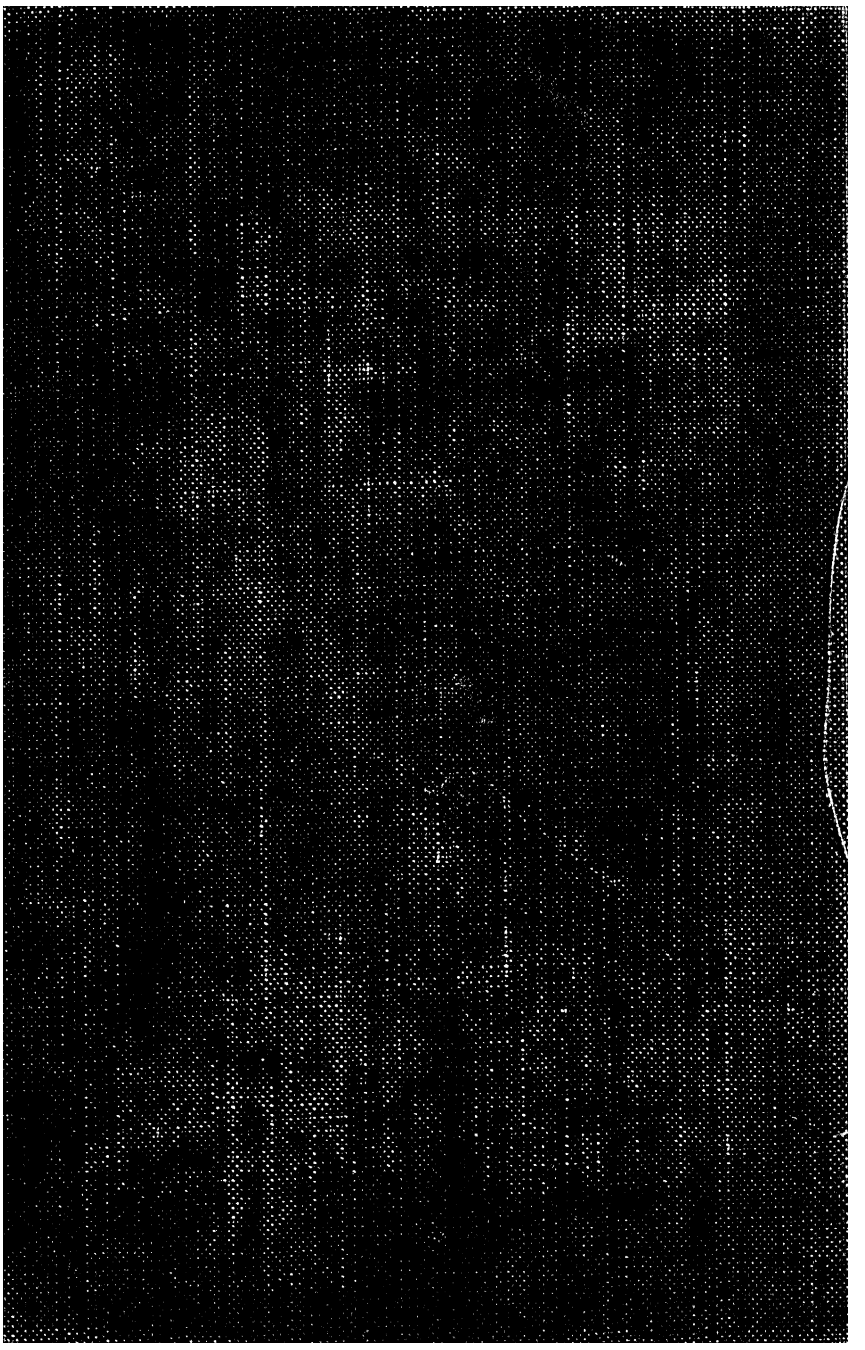

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